Imprimatur,

HEN. CLERKE.

Pro-Cancel. *Oxon.*

Martij 17.
1677.

Imprimatur,

HEN. CLERKE.

Pro-Cancel. *Oxon.*

Martij 17.
1677.

REFLEXIONS

On the

Council of TRENT.

By *H. C. de LUZANCI*, Deacon of the Church of *England*, and M. of *Arts* of *Christ Church* in *Oxford.*

διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας, ὡς πλάνοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς. 2 Cor. 6. 8.

Printed at the THEATER in *OXFORD*, and are to be had there. And in *London* at Mr *Simon Millers* at the signe of the *Star* near the West end of S. *Pauls* Church. *Anno* 1677.

REFLEXIONS

On the

Council of TRENT.

TO

The right Reverend FATHER *in* GOD

HENRY

By Divine Providence

LORD BISHOP

OF

LONDON,

Dean of his Majesties *Chapel Royal*,

AND

One of his Majesties *most Honorable*

PRIVY COUNCIL, *&c.*

MY LORD,

I Presume to address to your Lordship, a Treatise against the Council of *Trent*, that is, against a Conventicle of this last age, wherein the

ancient Faith was oppreſt by the eſtabliſhment of modern errors, and Religion cruſht by the intereſts of a politic faction.

Beſides the particular obligations I have to offer to your Lordſhip the beſt of my acknowledgments, I could not have made a more ſuitable dedication of this Book, then to a branch of that Noble Family, which was ever zealous for *the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints*; and to a Biſhop of that Church, which has alwaies declar'd it ſelf againſt the unhappy policy of that See, which builds its own greatneſs upon the ruines of the ſimplicity of the Goſpel.

Theſe

These two singular qualifications, appear so eminently in the conduct of all your Lordships affairs, that to them we are to attribute that extraordinary application, whereby you answer all the ends of your high calling; and content not your self with the advantages and honor, but descend to the most laborious and difficult parts of so great a charge: that diligent and strict watch, whereby you do not only preserve your own Flock, but discover all the designs and artifices of its enemies; that unblamable conduct, which the most violent and partial of your adversaries cannot but admire: that fervent charity which directs

rects to your Lordſhip as to a ſure refuge all them that deſire to forſake either vice or error: but above all that evenneſs and ſteddineſs of mind, which a [a] Father of the Church calls *the Life and Soul of Epiſcopacy*, wherewith Almighty God has endu'd your Lordſhip in ſo eminent a degree, that it may be lookt upon as your peculiar Character.

My Lord, it would be a noble ſubject to reflect upon a few late inſtances you have given, that you prefer your honor and conſcience above all intereſts whatever; that you have no concern but for the welfare both of Church and State; and tho the greatneſs of your quality ſufficiently entitles

[a] *St. Baſil.*

entitles you to the higheſt honor that either of them can beſtow; yet you owe your advancement purely to your own merit.

But My Lord, I am prevented by the acclamations of the public and the voice of the whole Nation, which by the great things you have already don is making judgment of the yet greater happineſs it ſhall one day derive from your Lordſhips future undertakings. This is become the employment of perſons more proportioned to ſuch a work; and it is the utmoſt of my ambition to be admitted amongſt the meaneſt of them, who are daily beſeeching Almighty God, that he would ſtill proſper your Lordſhip in the

accompliſhment of thoſe noble deſigns wherein you are happily engag'd for the good both of Church and State.

I am with all imaginable reſpect and duty,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhips moſt Humble, moſt obedient, and moſt oblig'd Servant.

DE LUZANCY.

THE

PREFACE.

THE occaſion of theſe enſuing diſcourſes which are here made public, was a Treatiſe entitl'd, Conſiderations upon the Council of Trent. Its author has manag'd his ſubject with ſo much dexterity, that I could not but judg it agreeable to that love all Chriſtians ought to have for truth, and to my own duty in particular to diſpel the miſt he has attempted to caſt before men's eyes.

To perform this with ſolidity, I thought it not ſo proper to rely upon any particular hiſtorian of that Council, there being but four who have treated of it, whoſe teſtimonies are not free from exception. Soavius is ſuſpected by the Romaniſts, (as Palaviciny by the Proteſtants) tho with leſs juſtice. Scipio

Henricus *is more addicted to his Society then to his Church, and more intent to defend the Jesuits, then to justifie the proceedings of the Bishops. And for* Aquilius *his Survey* De tribus Historicis, *it is rather a Pamphlet injurious to the Church of* Rome *it self for its want of sense and learning, than a just censure. But it appeared much more easie and useful, to give a true character of the Council drawn out of its own acts, and shew such essential defects in it, that all the artifice of its defenders can never satisfie a rational and impartial enquirer.*

There are two things to be consider'd in this Council; the manner wherein it was celebrated, and those points it determin'd, which later either respect articles of Faith, or reformation of manners. This order I have exactly follow'd, by endeavouring in the first discourse to evince that the manner of holding this Council was altogether irregular, and that Protestants may lawfully reject it without any further discussion of its decrees: in the second, that its decisions are contrary to the ancient Canons of the Church: and in the third, that the reformation which was then pretended to be made, was no better then a

new

new violation of Diſcipline, and a perfect illuſion of the World.

In theſe diſcourſes I avoid the citing any authors, but ſuch as for their learning and piety are venerable in the Church of Rome; *a deſign which no judicious perſons can ever diſapprove, ſince it hapens but too often that we combat men, whoſe ſentiments their own communion diſowns; and after a long and tedious diſputation we receive no other anſwer, but that the Church of* Rome *is not bound to make good all the aſſertions of her privat followers.*

And indeed ſhe would be ſtrangely put to it, ſhould ſhe warrant all the dreams of Suarez, Vaſquez, *and other Jeſuits. Since it is eaſy to demonſtrate, that they are more contrary to her then to us; more pernicious to their mother then to their enemies; and as a learned* [a] *Man of their communion obſerves, fitter to raiſe new Hereſies, then to deſtroy old ones.*

There being therefore ſo great a difference between their doctrine, and that of their Church, I have the juſtice and honeſty not to charge their exceſſes upon a communion, which notwithſtanding its many errors, can-

[a] Petrus Aurel.

not

not ceaſe to be great and venerable: but the acts of Trent, *the Councils of the Catholic Church, the writings of the Fathers, and the decretal Epiſtles of the* Popes *themſelves being ſtill extant, 'tis from thence that the aſſertors or oppoſers of that Council muſt fetch their arguments.*

I make no doubt but that this writing will increaſe the hatred of my adverſaries; and I foreſee that the blackeſt colours of calumny will not be dark enough to draw my picture with. Tis the ordinary way of many Zealots, who make it a part of their vertue to ſlander perſons on the account of their Religion, and to perſecute them, to the end either to induce them thereby to turn back to the communion they have left, or at leaſt to diſcredit them in that which they have embraced.

No Chriſtianly affected man can ſee ſuch dealings ſo oppoſite to God's Spirit, without great ſentiments of ſorrow and compaſſion: nor deplōre too much the ſtate of thoſe men, who break thro all the laws of charity by a principle of Conſcience; *and certainly a party muſt needs be ſtrangely weak, when its defenders run to Pamphlets and injuries to maintain it.*

The

The greateſt and moſt ſignaliz'd revenge Ile take of them and of their writings ſhall be a conſtant ſilence. As their arguments ſhall never find me dumb, ſo their reproaches ſhall for ever make me deaf. The living God who underſtands the language of our hearts ſhall be the only witneſs of mine: to him alone I will complain, and if at any time I pray for the ruine of my perſecutors, it ſhall be as St. [a] Auſtin *tells us,* David *did for the deſtruction of his Enemies.* He hated them with a perfect hatred, he could never be reconcil'd with the ſin, but nevertheleſs loved very tenderly the ſinner; and at the ſame time he would have ſuffer'd death to confound the one, he would have given his life to ſave the other.

[a] *Auguſt. in Pſal.* 118.

REFLEXIONS
On the
Council of *TRENT*.

Diſcourſe I.

That the Proteſtants, without any neceſſity of inquiring into the Decrees of the Council of Trent, *have ſufficient reaſon to reject it.*

I.

THERE are no true Chriſtians, whoſe very being ſo imprints not in them a profound reſpect for the Councils of the Church, ſince they conſider them as Sacred Conventions, wherein that Holy Mother both inſtructs and reforms her Sons, and wherein Biſhops ſpeak forth the dictates of that Spirit which proceeds from

the ſupreme Biſhop of our ſouls, 1 Pet. 2.25. thereby preſerving as well the faith of their people from being undermin'd by the overgrowing malice of Hereſie, as their manners from being corrupted by the remiſsneſs of her diſcipline.

The Catholick Church has alwaies judged them of ſo abſolute a neceſſity, that when ever the Devil attempted to diſturb her peace, ſo ſoon ſhe gather'd her Members from all parts of the Earth to oppoſe him, and to learn from the Divine Scriptures, how that dreadful Enemy was to be conquer'd. So when *Arius* endeavor'd to deprive us of our Redeemer, by the denyal of his Divinity, the whole Church thundred upon him in the *Nicene* Council. *Macedonius*, whoſe blaſphemous Tongue inveighed againſt the Holy Ghoſt, was no better treated in the *Conſtantinopolitan*. That of *Epheſus* prov'd no leſs Enemy to *Neſtorius*. A thouſand Anathema's were pronounc'd againſt *Eutiches*, by the Fathers met at *Chalcedon*. And becauſe the *Neſtorians*, even after *Neſtorius* his condemnation, were reſolv'd to maintain his Errors under the name of *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*, *Theodoret* Biſhop of *Cyr*, and *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa*,

Edeſſa, and did likewiſe pretend, that the firſt being dead in the Communion of the Church, and the two others having been receiv'd in the *Chalcedon* Council, the ſaid Council had approv'd of the *Neſtorian* Hereſie; the fifth General Synod gather'd at *Conſtantinople*, condemn'd the three Chapters, their Authors and Defenders; amongſt whom was poor Pope *Vigilius* reckon'd, notwithſtanding all his Infallibility.

It had been the conſtant deſire of Men, that the Council of *Trent* would have taken theſe firſt Aſſemblies for its rule, kept both their form and ſpirit, and ſhew'd in theſe laſt Times, where Charity is ſo cold, ſome foot-ſteps of thoſe where it was ſo flaming.

II.

There were no reaſons wanting to raiſe in us the moſt ardent deſires that it ſhould have been ſo. There was ſcarce any Religion to be found in men; Superſtition had ſo blinded their minds, and fleſhly luſts infected their hearts. And at the ſame time, that ambition had put Arms into the hands of Princes to diſturb the world, the bloodleſs, but more pernicious and obſtinate quarrels of Divines, waſted

the face of the Church.

The immediate fore-going Ages had brought forth Councils that contradicted each other. All *Europe* ſtood amaz'd at thoſe of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Florence*, and the *Lateran*. The ſacred Perſons of Kings were become ſo deſpicable, as to be excommunicated and degraded without the leaſt ſcruple. The Divine Authority of Biſhops was brought to nothing; and it was hard to judg, whether ignorance or corruption was more predominant in the Clergy.

Nay the Popes themſelves (if you believe their Bulls) ſeem'd to be ſenſible of ſo many Exorbitances. Pope [a] *Pius* the Fourth confeſſed, *He could not but be ſtruck with horror, when he ſaw how much both Hereſie and Schiſm had prevail'd, and how much Chriſtian manners ſtood in need to be reformed.*

[b] *Paul* the Third before him had acknowledg'd, *That Hereſie and Schiſm had vitiated all things.*

But *Adrian* the Sixth goes further, and in his Letter to the *German* Princes, does not think it enough to ſay, *That the whole world groans under inveterate and inſufferable abominations; that he deſires earneſtly a*

[a] *Pius* 4. *Bull. Conc.* [b] *Paul.* 3. *Bull. ind. Conc.*

Re-

Reformation: but adds, [a] *That the Church of* Rome, *the Apoſtolical See, is the off-ſpring of ſo many diſorders. We know,* ſaies he, *there have been many abominations in this Holy See, abuſes in Spiritual affairs, exceſſes in the Laws, and that all things are perverted: and it is no wonder that the diſeaſe hath flown from the head to the members, from the Popes to the inferior Prelates.*

This is alſo the Confeſſion of thoſe grave and learned [b] Doctors, who being conſulted by *Paul* the Third, about the intended Reformation, anſwered him poſitively, *That ſuch an Enterprize would prove impoſſible and uſeleſs to the Church, unleſs it began at the Head.*

III.

'Twas requiſite therefore to come to that ſo much expected Reformation; recal the ancient Doctrine and manners of the Church; and demonſtrate by a ſudden and efficacious remedy, that the Popes were not deaf to the cries and complaints of ſo many Nations.

But 'twas neceſſary alſo to make the hu-

[a] *Epiſt. Adr. ad Princ. Ger. Reperit. in faſcic. rer. expet. & fug. p.* 173. [b] *Conſult. Doctor. ſub Paul.* 3. *Reper. in fine* 3 *Tomi conc. edit. Colon.*

mane

mane Grandeur of the Apoſtolick See, agree with the Spiritual neceſſities that Souls were in; exhibit ſome kind of help which they ſhould be alwaies maſters of, and like experienc'd Phyſitians, draw infinite advantages from that univerſal Criſis of the World.

Nothing was ever better contriv'd for that purpoſe then the Council of *Trent*. And he that will ſurvey it without being blinded with any prepoſterous Zeal, will eaſily be convinc'd that *Paul* the Third, the Promoter of it, was a Man of great abilities; and that his Predeceſſors, *trepidaverunt timore ubi non erat timor. Pſal. 53. 6.*

IV.

The Pope paſſes his word to call a Council, & againſt the expreſs promiſe that *Adrian* the 6th had made of having it in *Germany*, according to the conſtant maxime of the Canons, [a] *To end Cauſes where their occaſion began*, he calls it at *Trent*.

This Council ſummoned at *Trent*, is ſo afraid not to be accounted a General and a Lawful one, that it entitles it ſelf at the beginning of all its Seſſions, [b] *Sancta & œcume-*

[a] *Conc. African. conc. Baſil. Seſſ.* 31. [b] *Seſſ.* 1,2,3 &c.

œcumenica Synodus in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata.

Who now would not think, after such big words, that from all places where our Bleſſed Saviors name is known, Biſhops did flock to *Trent*? Who would not have expected to meet there with ſome Eaſtern Patriarchs, or *African* Prelates? Who would not have promiſed himſelf in reading the Subſcriptions of this Council, to find more than 300 Witneſſes of his Faith, as at *Nice*; 600 as at *Chalcedon*, and (in our very times) 300, as at *Conſtance*, or 400, as at *Baſil*? Who would not have entertain'd hopes of hearing there, many *Athanaſius*'s, *Cyril*'s, *Euſebius*'s, *Spiridio*'s, *Paphnutius*'s, &c? In a word, Who would not have flatter'd himſelf, that our holy Faith had now bin made moſt clear and manifeſt, and that Gods Spirit, a *Spirit of liberty and peace*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 17. had animated that great Body? Nevertheleſs, what muſt we ſay, when we ſee appear there not any of thoſe remote Biſhops, nay ſcarce any of the neareſt, not ſo much as one of *Germany*, *Poland*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Sueden*, or *France*? That *grand*, *œcumenical*, *holy*, *admir'd* Council, is reduc'd to three Cardinals, five Arch-Biſhops, 36 Biſhops (for

the

the moſt part without Churches) ſome Mendicant Divines headed by *Loinez* and *Salmero, two ſtars of the Firmament, worthy ſons of the grand, holy, œcumenical company of Jeſus.*

The Sermons which were made at every Seſſion, and their manner of diſcuſſing the controverted Points, are an evident proof of the mean parts (not to ſay any thing ſharper and truer) of all theſe Divines. Nay, and to ſupply ſo remarkable a defect, we hear of no extraordinary qualities, nor eminent and ſurpaſſing Virtue, nor gift of Tongues, nor working of Miracles, nor Spirit of Prophecy

Notwithſtanding, this ſmall handful of People take upon them to explain the moſt obſcure and intricate matters; to give them (after a ſlight and precipitate ſurvey) a final determination; and to make more Canons in one Seſſion of four hours, then the four firſt General Councils all put together had done in four hundred Years.

V.

The Pope claims to himſelf the power of calling that Council. He does not conſider it as a privilege, or an uſurpation, which

which the ſilence of thoſe that are intereſted therein ſeem to render lawful, but as an inſeparable and inherent right to his See. [a] *Nos*, ſaith *Julius* the Third, *ad quos ut ſummos pro tempore Pontifices ſpectat Concilia generalia indicere & dirigere, &c.*

Who could imagine Chriſts Vicar to be a man of ſo ſmall ſincerity? [b] *Euſebius*, [c] *Socrates* and [d] *Theodoret* affirm, that the *Nicene* Council was call'd by the great *Conſtantine*. The [e] firſt *Conſtantinopolitan*, which is the ſecond General, was called by *Theodoſius*; that of *Epheſus* by *Theodoſius junior*; that of [f] *Chalcedon* by *Marcianus*; the [g] fifth General by *Juſtinian*; the [h] ſixth by *Conſtantine* the Fourth; the [i] ſeventh pretended General Council by *Conſtantine* and *Irene* his Mother; the [k] eighth by the Emperor *Baſil*. All theſe are accounted General in the *Roman* Church, and full of ſo evident proofs, that the Cardinals [l] *Cuſan*, [m] *Jacobatius* and *Zabarella* confeſs, that in the Primi-

[a] *Bull. pro. contin. Concil.* [b] *Euſt. l. 3. de vit. Conſt. c. 6.* [c] *Socr. l. 2. c. 6.* [d] *Theod. l. 1. c. 8.* [e] *Act. Concil. Epheſ. actio. 1. 2. part.* [f] *Epiſt. Synod. Con. Chalced. poſt act. 16.* [g] *Concil. 5. coll. 8. Epiſt. Juſt. ad Conc. act. 1.* [h] *Conc. 6. act. 1, 2, 3.* [i] *Concil. Nic. 2. act. 18. act. 1, 2, 5.* [k] *Conc. 8. act. 10.* [l] *Cuſ. de Conc. Eccl. Cath. l. 2. c. 2.* [m] *Jaco. de conc. l. 3. ar. 1. col. 11. §. 37.*

tive Times, the right of calling Councils belonged to the Emperors: but ſo many that were aſſembled in *Germany*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *&c.* that of *Conſtantia* by *Sigiſmundus*, that of *Piſa* by *Maximilian* (gather'd for the moſt part to depoſe Popes) make it appear that ſo great a Truth was not wholly worn out in the laſt Ages.

VI.

It is pleaſant to conſider, how different the ſtile of Popes in former times is from that of the preſent. *We were in hopes*, ſaies Pope *Leo* to the Emperor *Marcianus*, Epiſt. 44. *that your clemency would condeſcend ſo far as to defer the Council; but ſince you reſolve it ſhould be kept, I have ſent thither* Paſchaſin. *Has not the* Roman *Church*, ſaies Pope [a] *Stephen* to another Emperor, *ſent her Legats to the Council when you commanded it? We do offer theſe things to your Piety*, ſaies Pope [b] *Adrian* to the Emperor *Baſil*, *with all humility*, & veluti præſentes genibus advoluti, & coram veſtigia pedum volutando.

But Pope *Paul* the Third ſpeaks quite in

[a] *Epiſt. Steph. poſt. Conc.* 8. [b] *Epiſt. Hadri. ad Imper Lect. in Concil. Nic.* 2. *act.* 2.

another

another manner, *Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire.* The Bull of *Julius* the Third, is yet more bold, and ill becomes the humility of one that writes himſelf, *The Servant of Servants.* So that it muſt needs be, that either former Popes were extremely ignorant of the extent of their Power, or that the ambition of the later is grown too exorbitant.

VII.

The Author of the Conſiderations upon the Council of *Trent*, ſeems to be perſwaded of this want of Juriſdiction in the Pope, and he is at ſuch a loſs to excuſe it, that he has nothing to ſay, but that in the Troubles that *Europe* had bin engaged in, this right was devolv'd to the Pope. But was not *Europe* more diſturb'd when *Frederick* the Firſt gathered a Council at [b] *Pavia*, where the *German*, *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italian*, *Hungarian*, and *Daniſh* Biſhops met together? When *Charles* the Sixth, King of *France*, call'd one at [c] *Rhemes*, whither (the Emperor being pleaſed to be preſent) the King of *England* and many o-

[a] *Bull. ind. conc. ad fin.* [b] *Raden. de reb. geſt. Fred.* c. 48. [c] *Concil. Rhem. an.* 1131.

ther Princes ſent their Ambaſſadors? Or when both the *Piſan* and *Conſtantian* Councils were indicted by the Emperors with ſo great applauſe of all Chriſtians?

VIII.

Nor is it more difficult to prove, that the Pope has no right of preſiding in Councils: nor ought we to recur for that to many ſubtil diſtinctions or deep Ratiocinations. We need not put our ſelves upon the rack, as the Cardinals *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* frequently do, to render that probable, which is evidently falſe, and to make people wavering in things, which are undoubtedly true. We need but open thoſe Books wherein lie the precious and everlaſting Monuments of Antiquity, and the precedent conduct of ſo many holy Biſhops.

Conſtantine the Great preſided at the firſt General Council, as Pope [a] *Stephen* doth acknowledge in his Letter to the Emperor *Baſil*. *Theodoſius ſenior* did the ſame at the ſecond: and from the ſmall [b] remains that we have of this Council it appears, that nothing was done therein but by his

[a] *Reper. poſt oct. Concil.* [b] *Epiſt. Juſt. poſt 5. conci. pag. 605.*

Orders.

Orders. [a] *Theodosius junior* sent Count *Candidian* to preside in his stead. And some contestation happening to be amongst the Bishops, he [b] writes to them in these terms, *Our Majesty cannot approve of & own as lawful, what has bin done hitherto.* And these very Bishops, that had a great veneration for their Emperor, tell him in their [c] Synodical Epistle, *They have done nothing but by his motions, and that they have made use of his Letter as a Light to conduct them.*

The fourth General Council hath no less evident Testimonies for it. The resistance which was made to Pope [d] *Leo*'s Legats, requiring *Dioscorus* to be put of the Assembly; the affair of *Juvenalis* and *Thalassius*; that of the ten Egyptian Bishops; that of *Bassianus* and *Stephen*, which were all determined by the Emperors Judges, leave us no ground to doubt of this truth. *Justinian* was President at the Fifth, as is clear from all the Acts of that Council. And that great Prince, whom *Baronius* abus'd so unworthily, declares in his [e] Letter written to the Synod, *That he*

[a] *Sozom. l.* 7. *c.* 6, 7. [b] *Act. Concil. Eph. Can.* 17. [c] *Epist. Synod. Concil. Ephes. tom.* 2. *conc. ca.* 22. [d] *Concil Chalced. act.* 1. 4, 5. *relat. Syn. ad Leon. post Concil.* [e] *Epist. ad Syn. Coll.* 1.

con-

conſidered the Biſhops reunion as the foundation and beginning of all the happineſs of his Reign.

The Sixth is ſo clear, and its Seſſions were ſo many characters of ſuch a preſidency, that an adorer of the Popes new Power endeavored to diſcredit the Acts of it, becauſe, ſaies he, [a] *The Emperor, with his Judges, plena autoritate præſidet*, preſides with full autority.

Anaſtaſius did whatever he could to deprive us of the Seventh, but Pope *Adrian* did repair abundantly that defect. *We offer theſe things*, ſaies he in his Letter to *Conſtantine, to the end they may be carefully examined, for we have not exactly gather'd theſe teſtimonies we preſent to your Imperial Majeſty. We received theſe Letters from* Adrianus B^r *of* Rome, [b] ſaies the Emperor, *directed to us by his Legats, who alſo ſit with us in the Synod. We command them to be publicly read.*

There is no *Italian* whom theſe words would not ſtagger.

The Eighth expreſly ſaies, [c] *Præſidentibus Imperatoribus*; and becauſe the Popes Legats pretended, that the Biſhops who

[a] *Pighius de* 6. *&* 7. *Synod.* [b] *Concil.* 7. *act.* 2. [c] *Act.* 7, 6, 8, 10, *&c.*

were

were defenders of *Photius*, having bin condemned by the Pope, ought not to be heard any more, as ſentenc'd by their laſt Judge; the Emperors Envoies to the Council, anſwer'd, *That the Prince commands them to be heard the ſecond time*; Imperator vult & jubet.

Who, after ſo many Preſidents clearer than the light, will not wonder to hear *Leo* the Tenth in his *Lateran* Council, ſay imperiouſly, and in ſuch a manner as gives a truer Character of him, than all his Hiſtorians, *The Pope of* Rome *only, as being above all Councils, is fully impowered to call, to tranſport, and to diſſolve them?* And who, after a particular account of 100 Provincial Councils for 1000 Years, where the Pope was never ſpoken of but for the condemning of his pretences; who, I ſay, will not confeſs with Cardinal Zabarella, *That the Pope has ſo generally invaded the Rights of particular Churches, that other Biſhops ſignifie almoſt nothing*; *and if God be not merciful to his Church*, Vehementer periclitatur?

* *Zabar. cap. licet. extrav. de elect.*

IX. Nor

IX.

Nor does their pretended Power of confirming Councils ſtand upon better grounds than the other two. For if by the word *Confirmation* they underſtand an external engagement, whereby all faithful People are to obey the holy Conſtitutions of theſe Divine Aſſemblies, ſuch an Authority belongs ſo properly to Princes, and makes ſo conſiderable a part of their Dignity, that no man can appropriate it to himſelf without a manifeſt Uſurpation, and violation of the Sacred Majeſty of Kings. 'Tis in that ſenſe[a] *Euſebius* ſaies of *Conſtantine*, *Quæ ab Epiſcopis erant ſancitæ regulæ, ſuâ confirmabat & conſignabat autoritate.* And to the ſame purpoſe[b] *Juſtinian*, ſpeaking of the Canons of the firſt Ages ſaies, *Sancimus vicem legum obtinere ſanctas regulas.* But if by *Confirmation* they underſtand the internal obligation laid upon all Chriſtians, of hearing thoſe whom God has made their guides (and eſpecially when they ſpeak in Councils where the Holy Ghoſt has promiſed to be with them) to reduce it to the Pope, is the greateſt Chimera in the World. This is to make theſe Venerable Aſſemblies an

[a] *De Vit. Conſt. cap.* 27. [b] *Novel.* 131. *c.* 1.

obje&

object of ſcorn and deriſion; to give occaſion of diſbeleiving the certainty of the truth they ſet forth, or the juſtice of the laws they impoſe; and turn all Chriſtendome into a club of Independents, given up to the guidance of their own reaſon.

Is it probable that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be abſent from a meeting of 300. Biſhops, among whom we find *Athanaſius*, *Oſius*, *Maximus*, &c. and be preſent to *Liberius* a Subſcriber of the *Arian* Hereſie?

That he ſhould not be in the *Epheſin*, *Chalcedonian*, and *Conſtantinopolitan* Councils, where you have *Cyril*, *Leo*, *Proclus*, *Flavian*, &c. and yet in *Vigilius* a defender of the three Chapters?

That he ſhould not vouchſafe his preſence to three hundred Biſhops met at the ſixth general Council, and yet inſpire *Honorius* a patron of the Monotheliteſ?

Is not this to include the Univerſal Church in the *Pope*, which is a dangerous hereſie? To acknowledg him to be above Councils, which the [a] *Baſilian* Council (the *Popes's Carthage*) as well as the fa-

[a] *Seſs.* 21.

mous [a] *Sorbon* ſtile an other hereſie? and in fine, to open the door to a thouſand inconveniences, the renown'd diſtinction *ex cathedra* cannot help?

X.

Theſe weighty reaſons induc'd the [b] *German* Princes to proteſt againſt that Council. Many Kings of *France* had done the ſame before: and *Francis* the Firſt (whoſe name alone is a World of of great Men) was ſo fully perſwaded of its being no Council, much leſs a General one, that the ſubſcription of the Letters he directed to them, was only this, *Conventui Tridentino.*

But above all *Henry* the Eighth King of *England*, a cleer-ſighted Prince, and extreamly well learned in the true concernments of Princes, oppos'd it with a greater conſtancy. 'Twas not out of any motion of Hereſie or Schiſm he dealt thus; for he lived yet in the Roman communion. Nor out of any ambition, ſince all the hiſtorians, nay thoſe themſelves who endeavoured moſt to defame him, acknow-

[a] *Appel.* Sorbon *à concil. Later. in faſci. rer. expet. & fug.* [b] *cent. Gravam.* 1. *Par. recus. concil.*

ledg

ledg he had been all his life-time the general Arbiter of *Europe*. Nor yet out of any fear of, or averſion to Councils, ſince at the ſame time that he proteſted againſt the Council of *Trent*, he declared he was ready to ſubmit to any other lawfully call'd, and to ſend thither the Biſhops of his Realms. But the true and only cauſe was, that he perceived of how great importance an attempt of that matter would be for all ſucceeding ages, and what ſlavery all Chriſtian Princes would be reduced to, if he ſhould let it paſs. So that if the Council of *Trent* were as orthodox as the *Nicene*, and we had no other reaſons of rejecting it, this we have alledged is ſufficient to ſatisfy all unprejudic'd perſons.

Tis an eſſential defect and a fundamental one, at the beginning of an affair of the higheſt concernment. Whatever you intend to raiſe and build upon it, cannot be but weak and ruinous: and till the *Pope* be pleaſed to do us juſtice in that point, we do well to ſtop our ears to all others.

XI.

But ſhould we ſet aſide all theſe conſiderations, and grant that the *Pope* could both call and preſide in this Council, we maintain he ought not to do it.

How came he to be judg of thoſe, whoſe adverſary he was? to ſentence his own accuſers, and to rule in a Council demanded with ſo many tears, and obtained after five and twenty years delay, only to reform him?

The heats of *Leo* the 10th againſt *Luther* are very well known. That *Pope* who had for ſo many years trampled upon the neck of *Europe*, was almoſt diſtracted to ſee a deſpicable Frier rebel againſt him, and attack indulgences, of which his predeceſſors had alwaies bin moſt tender.

So conſiderable an adverſary gave more credit to *Luther*, than either his own merit, or the juſtice of his cauſe could have done. Nor was he to be accounted an ordinary man, that had anſwered Pope *Leo* ſo briskly, and ſtoutly received all the *Vatican* thunders. He made his appeal to a future Council, and was the more eaſily induced to defer till then his condemnation, or juſtification, becauſe he

he never imagin'd Pope *Leo*, his public and profeſs'd Enemy would become his Judg.

The *German* Princes went further, and after their accuſation brought againſt the *Pope* for Hereſie and Simony, they [a] appeal'd to a lawful Council.

Twas at leaſt the *Popes* duty to purge himſelf of ſo many accuſations, and to acknowledge according to the rule of the [b] Canoniſts (his moſt famous oracles) that in ſuch occaſions he was depriv'd of all power.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Colen* having been excommunicated by *Paul* the Third, refuſed the *Pope* for his Judg, as having bin attainted of Hereſie and Idolatry long before; and proteſted that as ſoon as a free Council ſhould be opened, he would appear there to accuſe him according to the ancient Canons.

King *Henry* the Eighth declared in his *Manifeſto*, that the Roman Biſhops orders did not concern him at all; that the *Pope* had conceived a deadly hatred againſt him; and that he ſought after all occaſions to be revenged of him, for hav-

[a] *Appel. Prin. Ger. faſcicul. rer. expet. & fugien.* [b] *Can. ne quis in prop. cauſa.*

ing

ing ſhaken off his tyranny, and withſtood the intolerable contributions exacted of his Kingdoms by that See. Theſe different appeals had been made in all requiſite terms: and were not intended as a pretence to annul the Council, but were offer'd before it was commenc'd without ever being recall'd. What ever ſlight pretences the *Pope* had againſt *Luther* and the Princes of *Germany*, he had none at all againſt *Henry* the Eight and the Arch-Biſhop of *Colen*. The one was a Prelate who demanded to be ruled by the Canons; the other a great King, never ſuſpected of any Hereſie; one that was honoured with the glorious name of *Defender of the Faith*: and tho we don't pretend to canonize all the actions of that incomparable Monarch, it is well known his greateſt guilt was the following the examples of his Predeceſſors, in converting to the good of the State, thoſe immenſe riches which the Roman Luxury and idleneſs was maintained with, and taking away thoſe Monaſteries, whoſe People were become abominable and ſcandalous to the Church.

XII.

For these very reasons in former ages the [a] Catholic Bishops, defenders of *Athanasius* his person and faith, rejected the Council of *Tyre*, because, said they, *Theognis* and *Eusebius* were his judges; and that Gods Law, *Inimicum neque testem neque judicem esse vult.* [b] St. *Chrysostome* refus'd to appear before *Theophilus*, only because he still seem'd guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, and was his enemy, *quod contra omnes Canones & leges est.* And this is so equitable, that Pope [c] *Nicholas* the First, and [d] *Celestine* the Third acknowledged, that *ipsa ratio dictat, quia suspecti & inimici judices esse non debeant.*

[e] Cardinal *Bellarmine* is so embaras'd by the laws which those two *Popes* confess to be of natural equity, that he admits of them, except when it concerns the supream judge. I pity that great defender of the Popes, for giving so miserable an answer. For if it be true, how came it to pass that Pope *Vigilius*'s consti-

[a] *Athan. apol.* 2. [b] *Epist. ad Innoce.* 1. *Conc. post Epist. Inn.* 27. [c] Nicol. 1. *Ep.* 7. [d] Celest. *Extrav. de Appell. can. secundo requiris.* [e] *Libr.* 1. *de Concil.* c. 21.

tution

tution (which he certainly pronounced *ex Cathedra*) was condemn'd in the [a] Fifth general Council? Why does the [b] Sixth also excommunicate Pope *Honorius* for being an Heretique? *Exclamaverunt omnes Honorio hæretico anathema.* And the [c] Seventh, *Detestamur Sergium, Honorium, &c.* What means the [d] Eight in forbiding Popes ever to be judged, but when they are Heretiques? Why did the [e] *Basilean* and [f] *Constantian* make it an article of Faith, that the Popes are subject to a superior Judg when they become Hereticks, Schismaticks or scandalous? Why were Pope [g] *Anastasius*, *John* the Thirteenth, and a 100 others depos'd? We must needs either condemn this shining cloud of witnesses, and with them all the ages of the Church, or confess that Pope *Paul* the third had no reasons to preside at *Trent*.

XIII.

Tis no new thing to appeal from the Popes judgment. Saint *Austin* writing to the *Donatists*, and speaking of the sentence

[a] *Concil. 5. act. 8.* [b] *Concil. 6. Act. 26.* [c] *Concil. 7. act. 7.* [d] *Concil. 8. act. 7.* [e] *Concil. Basil. Sess.* [f] *Concil. Const. Sess. 4.* [g] *Responsio synod. concil. Basil. p. 105.*

given

given against them at *Rome*, uſes theſe words. 'Let us ſuppoſe, [a] *ſaies he*, that 'the Biſhops who judged their cauſe at '*Rome* had not judged aright, there yet 'remained a Council of the Univerſal 'Church wherein your cauſe with your 'judges might have been judged again, 'and their ſentence annul'd had it been 'unjuſt.

But without looking back to the Primitive times, the hiſtories of our age afford us a thouſand examples of this kind. Nothing is more frequent in the *Engliſh*, *French* and *German* records. Nay the Monks themſelves claim'd right to ſuch appeals. *Luther* was not the firſt who attempted to make uſe of them; and we read in *Paul Langius* his [b] Chronicles, that *Ceſano* a Frier appeal'd from the ſentence of Pope *Martin* the fifth as being Heretical, tho in a matter of very little concernment, it being only to know, to whom belong'd the propriety of the *Franciſcans*'s bread.

XIV.

But laying aſide all theſe reaſons, how could the Pope be preſident in a Council

[a] *Auguſt. Epiſt.* 162. [b] *An.* 1328.

call'd only for his reformation? There is none but know that the diſorders of the Church had no other Origin then the Court of *Rome*. Nor did Proteſtants only think ſo, but thoſe alſo of the Church of *Rome*. And tho both were extreamly oppoſite in their opinions concerning the remedies for ſo great a diſeaſe; yet they all agreed in their apprehenſions of its cauſe. Pope [a] *Adrian* the ſixth and the Councellors of [b] *Paul* the third acknowledg'd it with much ſincerity. This was the ſentiment of Princes as well as Doctors. Their [c] publique Miniſters did alwaies touch upon that ſtring. Pope [d] *Marcellus* the ſecond did not apprehend *how his Predeceſſors could abhor the very name of reformation.* And it is like that had God bin pleas'd to prolong his life, he would have done great things.

The reformation of Popes was a wound never ſearched without making them fall into dreadful fits. All Chriſtians deſired the primitive times in matters both of

[a] *Adria. Epiſt. ad Princ. Germ. in faſcic. rer. exp. & fug.* [b] *Conſul. Paul. 3 in fin to. 3 concil. ed. Colo* [c] *Haran. de Mr. de Ferriers ambaſ. au Concile de la part du Roy tres Chriſt.* [d] *Onuph. in Marcel.*

Doctrine

Doctrine and diſcipline ſhould be brought again. But they were afraid at that word; and the only repreſentation of ſuch a Council as thoſe four which Pope *Gregory* the Great reverenced *as the four Goſpels*, was a phantôme, which all the exorciſms in the World could not drive away.

We need but read *Onuphrius* their hiſtorian to be acquainted with their fears. Cardinal *Pallavicini* could not conceal them; Cardinal *Bellai* repreſents in his memoires, how much Pope *Paul* the Fourth was frighted. And all the World was ſo far perſwaded, that this only thing hindred them from proceeding, that Monſieur de *Ferrieres* Embaſſadour of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the Council, told them not only in his Maſters name, but alſo of all the Gallican Church, 'that more than an hundred and fifty 'years ſince, a reformation of the head 'and members had bin expected in the 'Church; that it had bin required in the '*Conſtantian*, *Baſilean*, and *Ferrarian*, 'Councils, but could never be obtain-'ed; that twas no hard matter to gueſs at 'the reaſon of ſo many delaies.

[a] *Collec. Lovan. Orat. in Con. habit.*

XV.

The truth on't was, the Popes wounds were grown altogether incurable. There had bin a kind of preſcription againſt all their abuſes. Many holy men had inveigh'd againſt them on all occaſions but in vain; and thus uſurpation had laſted ſo long, that they did account it a lawful authority. Twas ſo pleaſing to them to thunder at all the World upon the ſmalleſt occaſion, that they could not renounce it without thinking themſelves undone. In a word they were not taken ſo much with the humble and penitent lives of the Popes *Adrian* and *Marcellus*, as with the audacious and voluptuous ones of *Boniface*, *Leo* and *Hildebrand*.

Nevertheleſs this ſick and languiſhing perſon is allow'd to govern his own Phyſitians. The general complaint of the World is, 'that the Popes ſwelling ambition has made him break through all 'laws; that the Court of *Rome* is become 'a ſink of wickedneſs; that the vices of 'the head infected the members; that 'without the reforming of this head there 'is no hope left for laying of any ſolid 'foundation.

And

And yet he presides in his Council. He calls, directs, and transports it by his full and sole authority (tho the 400 Prelates met at [a] *Basil* had made it a point of the Catholic Faith, that 'twas not in his power:) his Spirit fits the mouth of his Legats, and the fear of him strikes the hearts of the Bishops.

XVI.

Paul the third being afraid of nothing so much as of a free Council where Protestants should be heard, provided so well against these two inconveniences, that the Conventicles of *Tyre*, of *Antioch*, or of *Ephesus* in comparison of that, would have bin thought freedom it self.

Peace being the source of all freedom in an Ecclesiastical assembly, where all the members of it are stil'd by Scripture [b] *Evangelists of peace*, that Pope was extreamly diligent in fomenting War thro all Europe. This we are assur'd of by the speech of Cardinal *de Monte*, that of Cardinal *de Lorraine*, the letters of the *Lantgrave de Hesse*, of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of that [c] Pope himself to the *Switzers*,

[a] *Can. Basil. Sess.* 33. [b] *Ephes.* 6. 13. [c] *A copy of that letter drawn upon the original with all due forms, is to be seen in the Bishop of* Venice's *library.*

where-

wherein he acquaints them, *he has made a league with the Emperor to undermine Proteſtants, and intends for that purpoſe, to raiſe all the forces of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate.*

What name ſhall we give a Council, which has ſuch a Pope for its preſident? Do's he deal out of charity or ambition? Do's he deſign to convert Souls by force of Arms? What can they think of the Church, who are ſuppos'd to be ſeparated from her? How long is it ſince Councils were taught to War with any other weapon then Scriptures, then tears and Praiers? Is that Pope to be truſted, who at the ſame time he offers to receive his Children into his boſome, can lift up his hand to ſtrike them?

Julius the Third was of a greater ſincerity, and ſcorn'd to deal deceitfully; When he call'd the Fathers to *Trent*, he openly agreed with the Emperor to make War againſt *France*, about the Dukedom of *Parma*; and to ſpeak as *Onuphrius* (who is more his Panegyriſt than his Hiſtorian) *ſet* Italy *and the reſt of* Europe *in a flame.*

[a] *Onuph. in Trent.* 30.

What

What peace then or freedome could a Council enjoy, when all *Europe* was embroil'd, and groan'd under a bloody War? and what deſigns of reunion and charity could a Pope entertain, who ſought nothing but confuſion and trouble?

Pius the Fourth ſeem'd to be aſham'd of it. He was ſo little convinc'd of the validity of what ever had bin done at *Trent*, that when he recall'd again his Synod the third time, he was at a loſs how to term it, whether it ſhould be conſidered as a new one, or but a continuation of the firſt; *French-men* claim'd the one, *Spaniards* pretended the other. *The Pope* (ſaies his [a] Panegyriſt) *met with an expedient to make them agree, and he did ſo contrive his Bull, that all were equa'ly ſatisfied*: that is to ſay, he daub'd up the buſineſs; he flatter'd each one with a fancy they had bin victorious, but he gave occaſion at the ſame time to all clear-ſighted men, to wonder at a conduct ſo far diſtant from the candor and ingenuity of the firſt Ages, and ſo full of carnal wiſdom, which the Apoſtle ſtiles [b] *Death*, and to beleive, that he never intended to heal the wounds of the Church, but on-

[a] *Onuphr. in Pag.* 4. [b] *Rom.* 8. 6.

ly

ly to cover them, and create her new ones.

XVII.

What is the reason the Pope is so earnest for the Council to be held in *Italy*, and stops his ears to the cries of *Germany*, the complaints of Protestants, and the entreaties of so many Princes and Bishops? Did *France*, where the eldest Son of the Church commands, give him any cause to fear? Did *Germany*, where *Charles* 5th commanded? Did *Spain*, where people were grown adorers of his Grandeur? Was this Council for being had in any of these Kingdoms, under the subjection of most Christian and Catholic Princes, in danger of becomming either less free or less Orthodox?

Had the Pope bin inflam'd with the zeal of that faithful Shepherd, of whom it is written, *do's he not leave the ninety & nine, & go into the Mountains, & seeks that which is gone astray*[b]? how great joy should have possessed his Soul, for having the place shown him, where to find his wandring Sheep: where all European Bishops might

[a] *Respons. ordin. imper. legatis Pontif. fascicul. rer. expet & fug. p.* 173. [b] *Mat.* 18. 12.

have

have met together; and *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Germany*, ſent their Prelates? Should he not have bin raviſh'd at the occaſion given him, of rendring the Proteſtants inexcuſable? of reproaching them as Chriſt did *Jeruſalem*, *how often would I have gathered thy Children together, even as a hen gathereth her chicken, and ye would not*, Matth. 23. 37. of accuſing them of Schiſm, and applying to them all Saint *Auſtin's* arguments againſt the *Donatiſts*? Had not Pope *Paul* the Third, and his Succeſſors aim'd at ſome other end then the love of Catholic truth; why did he oppoſe the only thing that could render it victorious? Is there any preſident of ſuch a conduct in former Ages? Is it not cleer that there is in it ſome myſtery? And if ſo, was it to be wondred that Proteſtants ſhould apply themſelves to ſearch into it, and prevent its conſequences?

XVIII.

The choice of a free place where truth ſhould command, had bin alwaies a terrour to the Popes. As long as the Apo-

ſtolic See is not rul'd by *Adrians* and *Martellus's*, it will never without horrour call to mind the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. Every Country wherein Biſhops may ſay, *It ſeems good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us*, Act. 15. 28. ſhall be accounted by the Biſhop of *Rome* a Land of bondage. The *Piſan* Council ſhall be term'd a Latrociny by the *Lateran*; and moſt holy decrees ſhall be lookt upon, as ſo many bold and raſh attempts.

Paul the Third chuſes therefore *Trent* to aſſemble his Council at. This Town indeed was out of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and the Cardinal of *Trent* commanded therein; but as an Author of the Roman communion pleaſantly obſerves, *the Town was ſubject to the Cardinal, and the Cardinal to the Pope.*

Paul the Third had bin informed by his predeceſſors example, *that nothing made ſo much to the maſtering of a Council, as the choice of the place.* He ſucceeded in it admirably well. *Trent* was not ſo far from *Rome*, but the Holy Ghoſt might come thither in a few daies, and many legions of

of *Italian* Biſhops reſort thither; as it was done at the queſtion of Reſidence and divine right of Epiſcopacy, when 40 *Apulian* Biſhops, ſet aſide for the moſt preſſing occaſions, came in as freſh ſupply. But he had forgot how *Nicholas* the Firſt, *Innocent* the Third, *Clement* the Fifth, *Innocent* the Fourth do [a] teach, that no man is bound to appear in a place where he has juſt reaſons to fear the multitude.

XIX.

The event has ſhown us, that the fears of thoſe Princes were not groundleſs. Their intention was only to obtain a free Council, where none ſhould be condemned unheard, truth examin'd without prejudice, and matters weighed with the greateſt care.

For we muſt not imagine ſo many great Kingdoms, holy Biſhops and learned men ſought their own ruine. They deſired no more then the examination of their doctrine, to perſevere in it if it ſhould be

[a] *Cleme. paſtor. de ſentent. & re judicata, can. ſine, de conjug. Cauſ.* 33. *Pro.* 2.

judged orthodox, or to renounce it if it were not so; & for this reason the favour should be granted them, which was never denied to any, to wit of being heard.

An[a] Heathen does so much justice to Pope *Liberius*, as to confess, that he chose rather to banish then to condemn *Athanasius* without hearing his defence. But if they were afraid to place us in *Athanasius's* rank, it is certain that *Arius*, *Macedonius*, *Paul of Samasate*, *Nestorius*, *Pelagius*, and the most abominable Heresiarchs have bin heard. And the Church alwàies judg'd she could not deny them a thing of natural right.

XX.

Nevertheless the Pope rids himself of all these Inconveniences of the Primitive Church; and for fear other Bishops that are present at the Council should speak for them, he deprives them of all freedom of proposing any thing. Tho they are his [b] *venerable Brothers and born Judges*

[a] *Ammian marcel.* [b] *'Tis the title, the Pope gives Bishops in all his Bulls.*

of

of Councils as well as he, they have never the more liberty for it. All things are done *proponentibus legatis*, [a] and theſe Legats do propoſe but what they pleaſe.

When any one touched with a ſenſe of his duty, intends to ſpeak, he is ſilenced. If he be a *French-man* or a *Spaniard*, they tell him, tis unbecoming the Majeſty of a Council to conteſt. But if he be an *Italian* (that is, *a ſhadow and a Sceleton of a Biſhop*) he has his ingratitude reproach'd, and his Soul terrified by violent threats.

Ibi eſt herus, tergo metuas.

There is at *Trent* but the image of a Council. The true one is at *Rome*. [b] *Quid à patribus judicandum proponitur, aut ab iis judicatum publicatur, quod non prius Romam miſsum Pio Quarto placuerit?* The main deſign is to cheat the People, & not to eſtabliſh any real good for the Church. The holy Ghoſt does not ſhine on the Fa-

[a] *At every ſeſſion.* [b] *Speech of the French Ambaſſador related in Thuanus, pag.* 54.

thers

thers at *Trent* but by reflexion; and tho he has not promis'd to be in the conclave, but in the Council, yet he does not come to the one but as sent by the other.

What can the result be of dealings so contrary to the Spirit of God, but to incline men to renounce an assembly, where, as speaks Mr. *Ferriers's*, Pope *Pius* the Fourth left no place for the laws, no footsteps of the antient Councils, no vestige of freedom. [a] *Ubi nullum legibus locum, nullum antiquorum conciliorum, nullum libertatis vestigium* Pius *Quartus relinquat.*

Nor are the Authors of these last words either Protestants or Heretics. Neither is it that famour *Venetian*, whom they call *Atheist*, because he brought out of darkness, those artifices the Popes made use of, to betray the cause of God: but the Legats of the most Christian King: Men of admirable integrity and erudition, wonderfully addicted to the Church of *Rome*; and public Enemies to those that had separated themselves from it.

[a] *Thuanus, ibid.*

XXI.

XXI.

But to be fully perſwaded of the violence offer'd the truth, and that its vindication was not the ſcope of their endeavours, we need but conſider the ſecret power given to the Popes Legat to tranſport, or to diſſolve the Council according to the occurrences. Is it not a manifeſt and evincing argument, that the Fathers gather'd at *Trent* were treated like Children: made uſe of but only for a ſhew and pretence, when an occult and an overuling ſpirit agitated the whole maſs?

Had the Pope dealt ſincerely and without miſtruſt, what need ſuch an anticipated power? But if he could not ſuppreſs his fears in a place he had bin ſo much cautious of to be made ſecure, are not the very ſame fears much more reaſonable in ſuch, as could there hope for no ſecurity?

The diſſolving of Councils is the laſt ſhift the Popes betake themſelves to. *Eugenius* the Fourth attempted to ſecure his totte-

tottering power at *Basil*, and indeed that Council had vanish'd into smoak, but that the Emperour, Princes, and Bishops, forced him to repair thither: [a] *by threatning to condemn him for a stubborn and obstinate man, if he should refuse it.* Proud [b] *Leo* the Tenth succeeded more happily, and tho *Alexander* the Fifth testified at his death, all things had bin done at the *Pisan* Council with all imaginable sincerity and integrity, yet he declar'd it a meer conventicle.

XXII.

Had they intended to render truth manifest and palpable to all Christians, why did they take a course for discussing it so suspicious and unheard of till then? What means that so extraordinary distinction *of Congregations and Sessions*, the first to deliberate, the other to decide and decree? Had they learnt this from the first Councils of the Church? Must articles of Faith be handled secretly? [c] *Is there any thing more dreadful to the truth then to be abscon-*

[a] *Plat. in Eugen.* 4. [b] *Plat. in Alex.* 4. [c] *Tertul.* *ded?*

ded? And is there any rational man that ſuſpects not they are willing to diſguiſe and betray it, when he ſees them ſo cautious and overprudent to conceal from him their way of examining it?

Is infallibility to be found in *the Seſſions* or in the *Congregations?* not in the laſt, ſince they are compos'd of private Doctors; nor in the firſt, ſince nothing is examin'd in them.

And Gods Spirit, a [a] ſpirit of Wiſdom and diſcretion, forbids to determine any thing but after a long and ſerious trial.

XXII.

Hence we draw, how weak is an anſwer of the author of the conſiderations upon the Council of *Trent*, which ſeems to him the moſt ſolid ground of all his diſcourſe.

The inconſiderable number of Biſhops who voted in that Council is objected to him. And we ſay 'that it is a great teme-

[a] *Epheſ.* 1. 10. *Theſſ.* 5. 21.

'rity in those few Bishops and Divines, to 'have made in so short a time, & upon so 'important matters, such a prodigious 'number of decrees; and an other yet 'greater and more unpardonable then 'the first, to have bin so bold to propose 'them as the decisions of the Catholic 'Church.

To this he answers two things, first that those Bishops and Divines were men of an extraordinary merit. Secondly that whatever this small number had done, was approv'd of, received and ratified by the greater number, which amounted to above two hundred at the least Session.

For the first part of his answer concerning their extraordinary merit, he must give us leave to tell him, Pope *Paul* the fourth was incomparably better acquainted with it then he is, and consequently more to be beleived. And [a] he said of them to Cardinal *Bellay*, *It had bin a great weakness in his Predecessours, their having sent to the Mountains of* Trent *three-*

[a] *Il. Council. de Trent. Pag.* 408. *Memoires du Cardinal Bellay. p.* 155.

score

score Bishops of the less learned, Sessanta Vescovi de manco habili, *& forty very ordinary Divines*, & quaranta dottori de meno sufficienti.

For the second we acknowledg with him, that at the end of the Council two hundred and 50 Bishops, the greatest part *Italians*, ratifi'd the decrees of those other. But he ought to acknowledg with us, as a matter of fact, that after the arrival of those new Bishops, there had not bin any new examination of so many decrees, but only a simple reading. Whence we conclude many things so disadvantageous to him, that it would have bin more secure and handsom for him, to have let that objection alone, as he did twenty others.

And first that it is against all Canons, all right, and rules of common sense, that Bishops newly come should determine points they never examin'd.

Secondly, the surveying of these points was either necessary, or not. If twas so, they were bound therefore to undertake it.

But if there was no such neceſſity, why did the firſt Biſhops impoſe it upon themſelves?

Thirdly, the laſt Biſhops avoiding any new examination did therefore acquieſce in the precedent: and ſo it is a ridiculous petition of principle, and the greateſt diſhonour the Council could be blemiſh'd with, to ſay the Fathers rely upon ſome Biſhops *de manco habili*, and ſome Divines *de meno ſufficienti*.

Fourthly, that by this means Proteſtants continue ſtill in the right, for complaining they have bin condemned without being heard: that they can and ought to maintain their Doctrine till it be lawfully proſcrib'd, it being probable ſo many great Kingdoms, three parts of *Germany*, and a conſiderable part of *France* and *Poland*, were further from being miſtaken, then a few Biſhops *de manco habili*, and a few Divines *de meno ſufficienti*.

XXIV.

Ther's none can forbear laughing, at the ſimplicity of him that collected the ſubſcriptions of that Council; who to dazle the eyes of ignorant People, writes *a patriarch of Jeruſalem and ſix Greek Prelats; Greeks* born in *Italy*, who had nothing Greek but their names; as lately *Cardinal de Rets* was Arch-Biſhop of *Corinth*, tho he had never bin there. The ſame is to be ſaid of the pretended Arch-Biſhops of *Armagh* and *Upſal* who ſate at *Trent*, when the true Prelats of thoſe Sees proteſted againſt the Council.

And for thoſe titular Biſhops who appeard there in ſo ſtupendious a number, the Pope did never reflect that in ſending them thither, he publiſhed to all the World, how much an enemy he was to the Spirit, Diſcipline, and rules of the Church, which hath alwaies conſider'd the Election of Biſhops without Biſhoprics, as conſtant violations of her moſt holy laws.

XXV.

XXV.

But all these Shepherds, as well those that want Sheep, as those that *are known by theirs*, *John* 11. 14. are tied up to the Pope by a more solemn and dreadful Oath, then that which obligeth them to their natural Princes.

This Oath is not only contrary to all antiquity, wherein tis impossible to find any footstep of it; not only unworthy the Episcopal rank, not only injurious and scandalous to Kings, who thereby can never hope for true and faithful allegiances from their Bishops: but also horrid and abominable in all its parts.

A private author would never be believed, that should undertake to evince the consequences of it. They would suspect him of being prepossess'd and swayed more by his own passion then the truth. But lets hear how the Pope himself interprets this Oath. No Bishop of the Church of *Rome* can disown the interpretation of his holiness. For it is the universal

Do-

Doctrine of all Divines (except ſome ſcandalous *Jeſuits*) that we muſt in all our ſwearings anſwer the meaning of the law-giver, otherwiſe we attempt to deride God, and make his word a witneſs to our falſhood.

But Pope *Pius* the Second makes the extent of this Oath ſo large, that writing to the Biſhop of *Mayence* he [a] tells him, *It is not lawful for a Biſhop to ſpeak true againſt the Pope.* Non licet verum dicere contra Papam.

If we give any credit to that Popes words (which the Author of the conſiderations cannot diſown, for he ſpake *ex Cathedrâ*) in a thouſand occurrences they that take ſuch an Oath muſt needs be either perjur'd or betrayers of the truth of Chriſt.

But what can we hope from Biſhops who ſit in a Council thus enſlav'd to the Popes will? ſince a Hereſie maintain'd by him, (as but too many have bin) they cannot oppoſe, withour forſwearing themſelves; and if they remain dumb at

[a] *Epiſt. ad Epiſcop. Mogunt.*

ſuch

ſuch enormities, they ſhamefully betray the ſtation *Chriſt* has given them in his Church.

What would the *Nicene* or *Chalcedonian* Fathers have ſaid at this acclamation of the *Apulian* Biſhops, [1] *Nihil aliud ſumus præterquam creaturæ & mancipia Sanctiſſimi Patris?* What would *Domnus* or *Dioſcorus* have deſir'd more? and if *Paphnutius* could not forbear weeping, to ſee *Athanaſius*'s ſeat fill'd by his accuſer, and himſelf thruſt into a place due to that vile man, is it poſſible there was not one Biſhop at *Trent* ſeen to ſhed tears at ſo ſtrange a contempt of Epiſcopal dignity?

XXVI.

And indeed the moſt holy Father us'd them all *ut creaturas & mancipia*. *James* of *Clodia Foſſa*, ſaying he could not ſuffer tradition to be parallel'd with the Scripture, was expell'd the Council. *Peter* of *Juſtinianople* being but ſuſpected of what they call'd Lutheraniſm, was forbidden to come there, and take place a-

[1] *Milinæus de Concil. Trident. Num.* 21.

mongſt

mongſt the Biſhops. Another was proclaim'd Schiſmatical, and threatned to be rejected, for affirming there had bin many lawful Biſhops never call'd or confirm'd by the Pope. Nay another was depos'd becauſe he ſaid, *the Pope ſhould be contented with the title of Holy, which God is ſatisfied with without affecting that of moſt Holy.* So that twas not without reaſon, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* complains, 'the Council was not free, ſince no-'thing could be propos'd or reſolv'd, but 'what was the Legats pleaſure, nor could 'they propoſe any thing but what was 'the Popes.

XXVI.

But to convince all unprejudic'd perſons, we need but conſider the ſafe conduct granted to Proteſtants.

Tho the Fathers of *Trent* were engaged in honour, to blot out the memory of the *Conſtantian* Council, (whoſe wounds continued ſtill bleeding) by teſtifying to their adverſaries all imaginable ſinceri-

[a] *Thuanus l. 5. pag.* 13.

ty and Candour, yet they gave them greater occaſions then ever to diſtruſt.

Proteſtants require nothing but what had bin accorded to the *Bohemians* by the Fathers at *Baſil*; but they are plainly denied. They beg at leaſt a ſafe conduct which they many confide in; but tis doubted whether it may be granted them, and they are told it ſhall be given in the Congregation (viz. in the Friers meeting) and not in the Seſſion (viz. in the Council.) At laſt after having bin thus baited, they o tain ſafe conduct which has reſpect only to the *Germans* & worded in ſuch captious terms, that thereby the Pope had reſerved to himſelf the power of burning all the *Engliſh*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *French* that ſhould come to the Council; nay the *Germans* themſelves: tho they could blame nothing but their own ſimplicity.

Notwithſtanding whatever reaſons Proteſtants had of declining ſuch a Council, after the example of the Holy Fathers, and the judgment of the wiſeſt men then living, they (truſting the juſtice of their cauſe, and ſeeing in that noble and magnificent ſafe conduct

hope

hope was given them of diſputing and propoſing their difficulties) ſent their Divines to *Trent* and expoſed them to all dangers, without any other defence then the truth, which is call'd in the Scriture, *the ſhield of the juſt.* Theſe Divines thus authoriz'd by their Nation, being arriv'd at *Trent*, conceal not themſelves. They avoid not the ſight of men. The whole Councill is acquainted with their coming. They ſpeak to the Ambaſſadors, make their addreſſes to the Popes Legats, conjure them to pitty the calamities of *Germany*; and after having preſented them with the confeſſion of their Faith, they beg no other favour from them, but to have it read in the Council, for its being either approv'd of, or condemn'd. The Legats do not burden them with Irons, or tumble them into Dungeons, they are ſo far from being murdered, that their life could not be more ſecure in the Prince of *Saxonies* or the *Landgraves* Chamber. But they receive no anſwer; their confeſſion of Faith remains buried, the Legats keep it *in Petto*, nor are the

moſt entire ſubmiſſions and ardent entreaties able to bring it forth. Thinking perhaps that the quality of a Prieſt, or of a Divine had no great influence upon an Apoſtolic Legat, they made uſe of the Emperours Ambaſſadors. That Prince was the Soul of the Pope, as the Pope was of the Council. But all theſe endeavours are fruſtrated, there is ſomwhat unknown and unperceiv'd which ſtrikes dumb their *Eminences.*

Who ever heard of any ſuch dealings? If Proteſtants decline the Council grounded upon a thouſand unanſwerable reaſons, all the World riſes againſt them; nor are the names of Heretics, Schiſmatics, nay Atheiſts ſufficient to expreſs their imputed perfidiouſneſs. But tho they come and ſtrike Heaven and Earth with their complaints, an ignorance is pretended of their being there. The Fathers have neither ears, nor hearts, nor mouths, to hear their praiers, feel their grievances, and anſwer their propoſals; and they are forced to beg and expect from

from God that juſtice which men deny them.

XXVII.

'Tis evident from ſo many inſtances, that Proteſtants did never reject Councils. There is no Chriſtian whom the Authority of the Church do's not overcome, he deſerving to be debar'd from the quality, advantages and hopes of a Son, who hearkens not unto his Mothers voice. The Church has a true juriſdiction, a real and effective authority. All contrary Doctrines flow from independency and Enthuſiaſm, two blind and furious Monſters every where to be profligated. But the very ſame Proteſtants ſo great admirers and defenders of the Church, require ſhe ſhould ſpeak in lawful aſſemblies. When they ſhall be condemned in Councils like that of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, then they will receive their ſentence with as much joy as reſpect.

But

But when a new and unlawful meeting, guilty of eſſential, aver'd and inconteſtable defects, nay acknowledg'd to be ſuch by the moſt learned and diſintereſted men of the Roman Communion, ſhall claim the ſame authority as theſe Divine aſſemblies, they will be very careful *to keep their ancient waies*; and far from being deterr'd by the threats of that proud and uncharitable Church, which excludes from heaven all thoſe ſhe cannot keep blindfold in her boſom, they will augment the glorious company of many holy Fathers, whom the overpowring number of unjuſt Councils, could never bend to betray the cauſe of Chriſt. Such an one was St. *Athanaſius* who rejected the Council of *Tyre*; *Maximus* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, that of *Antioch*; *Cyril* that of *Syrmium*; *Paulinus* that of *Milan*; and *Chryſoſtome*, an example of Chriſtian conſtancy, that *ad quercum*.

In a word they will receive thoſe curſes pronounc'd againſt them as ſo many bleſſings, and without going any further

further into the discussion of the *Tridentine* Councils decrees, they will conclude with the words of Cardinal [a] *Bellarmine*, *Si legitima Synodus non fuit, planum est nullam authoritatem potuisse habere: & nullius roboris sunt illius Canones.*

[a] *L. 2. De Pontif. c. 18.*

REFLEX-

REFLEXIONS
On the Council of *TRENT*.

DISCOURSE II.

That the Doctrine of the Council of Trent *is contrary to the ancient Doctrine of the Catholic Church.*

I.

WHOEVER peruſes the Council of *Trent*, cannot but be ſtrangely amazed, to find its ſtile ſo altogether unlike that of the ancient writings of the Church. There is in thoſe I know not what characters of holineſs and Chriſtian majeſty, which command reverence from all: but in this we meet with a ſort of ſo unuſual and dubious expreſſions, that ſhew the Authors of it were incomparably better verſed in political

practices, or Books of School-men, then in the Works of the Fathers.

They never intended, in many of their Canons, to fix a true and uniform ſenſe, which all People might rely upon, but a double and captious one, apt to receive contrary interpretations; to ſatisfy men of different intereſts, and give them the mutual pleaſure of believing their aſſertions upheld by the autority of the Council.

And thus the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans* were equally contented with the Canons concerning Grace, and Juſtification. Each Party drew the autority of the Council to its own ſide: and there has not bin any Writer of theſe two Orders, who in their many Books, as oppoſite one to another as light is to darkneſs, has not alledged theſe very Canons, as invincible proofs againſt his adverſary.

II.

But if any ſhould enquire further, and ſearch into that vaſt multitude of Decrees unknown till then, he muſt needs wonder to find them built upon ſo ſandy Foundations.

The moſt general *Baſis* of them is laid in

in the fourth Seſſion, where the Council propoſes two objects to our Faith; to wit, [a] *Books which are written, and Traditions which are not written.* And they pretend as a neceſſary conſequence, that whatever we oppoſe againſt the Church of *Rome*, is of that kind. This is the Epitome of all the Council.

Nevertheleſs, leaſt any one ſhould be offended at the word *Tradition*, and perſwade himſelf that they intend by it to equal mens autority to that of God, or humane Ceremonies to the ſacred Precepts of the Goſpell; they give of it a moſt magnificent character, calling it, [b] *The Word of Chriſt, a Doctrine inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, for the ordering our Faith and manners, and preſerved in the Catholic Church by a continued ſucceſſion.*

If that Principle be true, there is an end of all Controverſies; and were the Church of *Rome* as able to prove it, as ſhe is ready to advance it, we might hope to ſee in our daies, that bleſſed Word of Chriſt accompliſh't, [c] *There ſhall be one Fold and one Shepherd.*

And indeed there is no Proteſtant in the World, who doth not admit of a

[a] *Seſſ.* 4. [b] *Seſſ. ibid.* [c] *John* 3. 16.

Tradition endued with these Qualifications.

First, *That it be the Word of Christ.*

2. *Inspired by the Holy Ghost.*

3. *In matter of Faith and Manners.*

4. *Preserved in the Catholic Church by an uninterrupted succession.*

But there is no Protestant in the World that doth not maintain, such a Tradition cannot be proved: and is nothing else but one of those rich and splendid Idea's, as admirable and flattering in their speculation, as impossible and deceiving in their practice.

III.

For the perfect evidencing whereof we need but consider the following Proposals.

First, *That of all places of the Scriptures, whereby the Church of* Rome *asserts her Tradition, there is not so much as one alledged by the Fathers in her sense.*

Secondly, *That none of the Fathers ever understood Tradition otherwise, then for the unanimous consent of the Doctors of the Church, grounded upon a word which is written.*

Thirdly, *That no places in Scripture are ex-*

expreſs for the authorizing ſuch Tradition, but many poſitive and clear to prove the ſufficiency of Scripture.

Fourthly, *That among the Traditions of the Church of* Rome, *ſhe propoſes many to our belief, which do not appertain at all either to Faith or manners.*

IV.

The Scripture is moſt holy, moſt infallible, moſt perfect in it ſelf. The Goſpel has added what was deficient in the Law. And the Apoſtles Writings ſupplied the defect of the Goſpel. There we muſt ſtay. [d] *'Tis no leſs crime*, in S. *Baſil*'s opinion, *to add that which is not written, then to reject that which is written.*

And 'tis a ſtupendious boldneſs, when God has vouchſafed to reveal his will to men by a certain and infallible word, to ſubſtitute another, neither clear nor undoubtedly received.

V.

That new word, which is aſcribed to

[d] Ἡ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων. *Baſil. l. de confeſſ. Fid. Cathol.*

God,

God, has properly and by its ſelf relation to thoſe things which cannot be proved by Scripture, as one [e] of the Divines, preſent at *Trent*, has taken notice of, otherwiſe it would be a written word.

But if it be ſo, nothing is more unworthy of Chriſt, and leſs agreeable to his divine Oracles. It is to render his truth ſuſpected, or uncertain; to expoſe Chriſtians to infinite errors; to give them as many maſters as there are perſons who will profeſs themſelves the Guardians of that word; and to make it the object of all mens ſcorn; ſince according to the excellent ſaying of S. *Jerome*, [f] *Quod de Scripturis autoritatem non habet eâdem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur.*

VI.

We find not that Chriſt in his holy Goſpel ſends us to Tradition, whereby we may come to the knowledg of him. *Search the Scriptures, they are they that teſtify of me.*

The Apoſtles ſpeak as their Maſter. [h] *We have alſo a more ſure word of Pro-*

[e] *Andradius.* [f] *Hieron. in Math. c.* 8. 13. [g] *John* 5. 39. [h] 1 *Pet.* 1. 19.

phecy,

phecy, wherunto you do well that ye take heed as unto a light that ſhines in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts. i "Many, ſaies S. "*Chryſoſtom*, pretend to ſpeak from the "Holy Ghoſt, but they do it falſly, as "long as they ſpeak from themſelves; "as Chriſt teſtifies he ſpoke not from "himſelf, but from the Law and the Pro-"phets, ſo if they proffer us any other "thing then the Goſpel, under pretence "of its being inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, "let us be far from believing it.

"Is there any thing worſe, ſaies k Pope "S. *Leo*, then to have impious ſentiments, "and yet not to be willing to aſſent to "the more learned and wiſe? Thoſe are "guilty of this folly, who when they "are hindred from knowing the truth "by any obſcurity, do not recur to the "Prophetical Books, the Apoſtolical "Writings, and Evangelical autority, "but to themſelves, and ſo become Ma-"ſters and Teachers of error, becauſe "they refuſed to be Diſciples of Truth.

It would have bin very eaſy for * S. *Auſtin*, in that long and tedious Diſputa-

i *Homil. de S. Spirit.* k *Epiſt. ad Flavian. Refer. Can. quid autem.* * *Cauſ.* 24. *quæſt.* 3. *Can.* 30.

tion

tion with the *Donatiſts* concerning the Catholic Church, to have made an end of it, by ſending them to Tradition. But inſtead of doing ſo; *Let us not hear*, ſaies he, *Hæc dico, hæc dicis*, but let us hear, *hæc dicit Dominus.* "[l] We have the Lords "Books; Both of us acknowledg their "autority, both of us believe them, *ibi quæramus Eccleſiam, ibi diſcutiamus cauſam noſtram: nolo humanis documentis, ſed divinis Oraculis ſanctam Eccleſiam demonſtrari.* "We ſeek, as he there adds, where "the Church is: what ſhall we do? *in verbis noſtris eam quæſturi ſumus, an in verbis Domini?* "I think it is to be ſought "in his words who is the TRUTH, and "knows perfectly her who is his Body. *Habeo manifeſtiſſimam vocem Paſtoris mei commendantis mihi & ſine ullis ambagibus exprimentis Eccleſiam.* "If I ſuffer my ſelf "to be reduced and ſeparated from his "flock (which is the Church) by the "words of men, I will impute it to my "ſelf, whereas he advertiz'd me, ſaying, [m] *My Sheep know my voice.*

'Tis the conſtant Doctrine of that admirable man in all his Works.

In his Letter to S. *Jerome*, "I confeſs

[l] *Lib. 2. de Bapt. contr. Donat. c. 3.* [m] *John 3. 27.*

"to

"your Charity, ſaies he, [n] I give thoſe "Books alone which are termed Cano-"nical, that honor as to believe none of "their Authors did ever err.

In his Letter to *Vincent*, "[o] Do not "oppoſe therefore, Brother, to ſo many "and undoubted places, ſome of the "writings of the Biſhops, either ours, "or thoſe of *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, and *A-"grippinus*. All theſe writings want the "Autority of the Canon, and we re-"ceive not their teſtimonies as things "which it is not lawful to diſſent from, "if they are diſſenting from the Truth.

Upon the 87. *Pſalm*, "You read not "in the Goſpel thoſe whom you name; "neither do I ſee thoſe whom I alledge. "Let us lay aſide our Books, *procedat in medium Codex Dei.*

Finally againſt *Maximinus* the *Arian*, who relied upon the Council of *Ariminum*. "I ought not, ſaies he, [p] to cite "you the *Nicene* Council, nor you that "of *Ariminum*, as prejudices for our cauſe, *Scripturarum autoritatibus non quorumcunque propriis, ſed utriuſque communibus teſtibus, res cum re, cauſa cum cauſa, ratio*

[n] *Epiſ.* 19. *refer Can. Ego ſolis. Diſt* 9. [o] *Epiſtol. ad Vinc. refer. Can. noli Frater. Diſ.* 9. [p] *Libr.* 3 *c.* 13.

cum ratione, concertet; & utrique tami ponderis molibus cedamus.

Nay 'twas not only Biſhops that thought ſo, but Lay-men themſelves. "We are taught by the Goſpel, ſaies "[q] *Conſtantine* to the *Nicene* Fathers, the "Apoſtolical Writings, and the Oracles "of the Prophets, what we muſt know of "God: let us therefore draw the expli- "cation of our doubts from the words "divinely inſpired.

VII.

We intend not hereby to detract from any part of the high eſteem every Chriſtian ought to have for the Works of the Fathers. We conſider them as the Maſters of the Church, who inſtructed her, not only by the learned productions of their minds, but by the purity and good examples of their lives. We honor them as Preachers, who ſpake no leſs by the wounds they received for the defence of Chriſt, then by the words they made uſe of to make known his Doctrine. Nor could we behold without a juſt reſentment a Miniſter of our Age to ab-

[q] Ἐκ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λόγων λαβόντας ἡμᾶς τῶν ζητουμένων τὰς λύσεις, *Theod. l.* 1. *Hiſt. Eccl. c.* 6.

uſe

uſe their Writings in a Book entitled *De vero uſu Patrum.* We acknowledg with the great S. *Auſtin*, [r] that theſe holy Men were *ſtabiles in antiquiſſima & robuſtiſſima Fide.* We call with the Primitive Councils our preſent Faith *the Faith of our Fathers* [s]. But we are not convinced that our reſpect ſhould endue us to believe them infallible. After Gods Word none is of greater weight to us then theirs; but we are not bold enough to mingle & confound them. As a body grows not luminous but as it comes near the Sun to receive its impreſſions, ſo we do not ſee in them any certainty of light, but as they are conformable to the Scripture, which is certainty and light it ſelf. And we think we give them all the praiſes they can expect from us, when we ſay, as S. [t] *Athanaſius* did, of the *Nicene* Fathers, that *their Expoſitions of the Nicene Faith, according to divine Scriptures, are ſufficient to deſtroy all Impiety, and confirm the belief of Chriſt.*

VIII.

But that which is more to be wondred

[r] *l.* 2. *de nup. & Conc. c.* 24. [s] *Conc. Chalced. ac.* 8. 8. 10. *&c. Epiſ. Euſeb. relat. à Theod. Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 11. [t] *Athan. Ep. ad Epict.*

at, is, that none of the controverted points has ever bin preſerved in the Catholic Church, as a point of Faith, and agreeable to the conſent of the Fathers: a truth expreſly maintained by a learned [u] Biſhop of this Kingdom, who ſucceſsfully challeng'd any of the Roman Communion to a contradiction.

I would call for no other evidence then the Canon of this very Seſſion, §. 4. which ordains under pain of Excommunication to admit of thoſe Books as Canonical, that had never bin ſuch, with the ſame veneration as thoſe which had bin conſtantly kept by the Church. All [x] Councils, Fathers, Ages, ancient and modern Writers exclaim againſt that Decree, and there is no man, tho but commonly read in Eccleſiaſtical writings, that can deny it.

Notwithſtanding the Council doth anathematize thoſe that diſſent from its Canons. Pope *Paul* and *Pius* the IV. exact a dreadful Oath of it, and make the People ſwear upon the Goſpel, to receive as certain and undoubted that which all

[u] *Jewell.* [x] *Conc. Laodic. can.* 54. *Joſ. l.* 1. *contr. App. Euſeb. l.* 3. *Hiſt. Eccl. c.* 20. *Melit. Sardic. apud Euſeb. lib.* 4. *c.* 26. *&c.*

the

the learned of the Church of *Rome* had lookt upon before as evidently falſe.

IX.

The Decree which conſecrates the vulgar Tranſlation is moſt ſtrange, but nothing is like the declaration of the Cardinals, who aſſure us, *Quod ne vel iota unum repugnat in veteri vulgata Latinæ linguæ editione*, tho Pope *Clement* VIII. confeſſes in the Preface to his Edition, [y] *many things were purpoſely omitted which ſhould have bin changed.* Let it be ſaid with all due reſpect to their Eminencies, that ſo ſurprizing aſſurances ſhew either deep ignorance, or a wonderful unſincerity, or the greateſt boldneſs in the World.

X.

The [z] Articles of Juſtification, which eſtabliſh the merit of our Works in a manner ſo injurious to the Grace of our Redeemer, are no leſs oppoſite to the ancient Church. That holy Mother conſtantly inſtructed her Sons in all times, [a] *That we are by nature the Children of wrath;* [b] *That God works in us both to will and to do*

[y] *Bull. Clem. VIII. ante Edit. Vulg.* [z] *Seſſ. 6. Can. 32. & 24. &c.* [a] *Eph. 2. 3.* [b] *Phil. 2. 13.*

of

of his good pleasure. [c] *That we are not sufficient* of our selves *to think any thing of our selves, but our sufficiency is of God.*

She has bin taught by Christ himself, [d] *Without me ye can do nothing; if the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed,* [e] *and no man can come to me, except the Father which has sent me, draw him.*

She has bin informed by her Doctors, that *when God is pleased to Crown in us our merits, he Crowns but his gifts: that unless he gives us what he commands us, his Law instead of a spirit giving life, becomes to us a killing Letter.*

She has determined in her Council, *That no man is free for doing any good thing but by Gods Grace:* that *God expects not our will, but prepares it according to what is written in his words*; that *when we fall into any sin we do it of our selves, and of our own will,* [h] *but when we do any good Action, 'tis out of his alone.*

Let any unprejudiced person read the Canons of the Council of *Orange* (where S. *Hilary* being President, Christs Grace triumph't so entirely over all its enemies

[c] 2 *Corinth.* 3. 5. [d] *John* 15. 5. *Ibid.* 8. 36. [e] *Ibid.* 6. 44.
[f] *Concil. Arauz. c.* 12. [g] *Can.* 8. [h] *Can.* 23.

and

and compare them with those of *Trent*, he will be amazed at so strange a contrariety.

But when we are so earnest in throwing down our pretended merits to raise a glorious Trophy to our Faith, we intend not to patronize Libertinism, and give way to those licentious opinions, which are the natural consequences drawn from the Doctrines of some Reformers.

Faith, whereby a man is justified, is not barren, and like that of the Devil, which is of no use but to prolong and foment his disorders. It is a Faith which, as the Apostles stiles it, [i] *works by love*; which makes us look upon Christ as the Foundation and only Source of our Salvation; breeds in us an ardent desire of him. That love *which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost* [k] promts us to put our whole trust in him, and to practise by the Soveraign power of his Grace, what his Gospell teacheth is required of us.

S. *Austin* incomparably expresses this great Truth in these words, which the Church has so much admired as to make a Canon of them. [m] *Verily, verily, I say*

[i] Gal. 5. 6. [k] Rom. 5. 5. [l] Can. Charitas de panit. Dist. 2. [m] John 6. 47.

unto

unto you, he that beleives in me hath everlasting life: He therefore who has not everlasting life, believes not in Christ: but he believes in Christ that has Charity, for to beleive in Christ est tendere in ipsum amando, is to *be enclined to him by Love. It is to this the remissions of sins hath bin promised,* huic remissio peccatorum promittitur. *But if Love cannot be separated from Christian Faith, how can he that wants Charity have Christian Faith, that is, believe in Christ?*

Faith is therefore the Spring of our love, and love the Source of our Works. [n] *What is it to love God,* continues that holy Doctor, *but to be inwardly adherent to him; to conceive an ardent desire of seeing him, an hatred of sin, a distast to the World, a Charity for our Neighbor, whom he has commanded us to love, and so strictly to observe in our Charity the rules he has prescribed us in his Law, as never to pervert its order.*

But let it be far from Christians to think our Faith or Love come from us. *If any beleives,* saies the [o] Council of *Orange, he can do any good action,* quod ad salutem pertinet vitæ æternæ, *by the strength of nature, and without being enlightned and*

[n] *Can. Charitas.* §. *Ergo. ibid.* [o] *Can.* 7.

in-

inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, who poures into our hearts a ſuavity which makes us aſſent to, and believe the truth, that man hæretico fallitur ſpiritu, not attending to what Chriſt pronounces in his Goſpel, [p] *Without me ye can do nothing. Nor to the words of the Apoſtle,* [q] *We are not ſufficient of our ſelves to think any thing as of our ſelves, but our ſufficiency is of God.*

There are in man, ſaies the ſame Council, [r] *many good things, which man doth not do, but in thoſe he doth, there are none but what God doth in him.*

No man, ſaies another Canon, [s] *has of himſelf but falſhood and ſin; but if any hath truth and righteouſneſs, 'tis of him Quem debemus ſitire in hac eremo, ut ex eo quaſi quibuſdam guttis irrorati non deficiamus in via.*

Good God! how far are the Canons of *Trent* from the holineſs and humility of theſe! how repugnant to the eſtabliſht Doctrine of the Church, and the ſentiments of the Fathers, are the proud and Pelagian principles of the *Jeſuits*!

XI.

The Anathema's of the ſeventh Seſſion

[p] *John* 15. 5. [q] 2 *Corinth.* 3. 5. [r] *Can.* 20. [s] *Can.* 22.

being no better grounded, are not more to be feared; the Council cuts off from the Church, which is the Body of Christ, those who admit of more or less then seven Sacraments.

It is evident that such a Principle cannot be proved by the Scripture. We must then recur to the *unwritten Word*. Sure so important a truth has bin preserved in the Catholic Church, and nothing ought to be more obvious in the writings of the Fathers.

Nevertheless, not a word for twelve whole Ages; and that so long uninterrupted silence had never bin broken, had not the master of the Sentences and other Scholastics brought it into the World.

Indeed we find every where in the writings of the Fathers that the Adult must give an account of the Faith they professed at their [t] Baptism, and receive the [u] imposition of hands from the Bishop. We meet every where with Repentance, Penance, and Confession of Sins. We see [*] every where the power of ordaining Priests so committed to the Bishops by Christ, that all Ordinations from other

[t] *Can. ante Baptisa.* [u] *Can. baptisand.* [*] *Can. postquam de Consecrat. dist.* 4.

hands

hands were esteemed unlawful and sacrilegious. But we find no where all these things to be Sacraments. And no man can sufficiently wonder how the Fathers at *Trent* propose as an Article of Faith *grounded upon Tradition*, a thing they are obliged to confess was never spoken of in the Church for twelve hundred years.

XII.

The *Unwritten word* doth no more favor the Canon which establishes Transubstantiation then the others, and we have from the ancient writings so many places against this Doctrine, that we cannot conceive how it came into the World.

[x] *Tertullian* writing against *Marcion*, who denied that Christ had a real Body, tells him, *Christ made his Body of the Bread he distributed, saying; This is my Body, that is, the figure of my Body, Figura Corporis mei; but it had never bin a Figure, Si veritatis corpus non esset, had not the Truth, (Christ) had a real Body.*

Christ, saies [y] *Theodoret*, *honored the Symbols and signs of the Sacrament with the*

[x] *Lib.* 4. *c.* 40. [y] *Dial.* 1. *pag.* 18.

name of his Body and Blood, not changing their nature, ὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλλων, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προσθεὶς, *but adding his Grace to their nature.*

S. [z] *Jerome* is no leſs poſitive then *Theodoret*, *The Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt*, ſaies he, *are underſtood two ſeveral waies, either of that ſpiritual and divine Fleſh, of which he ſaies himſelf, My Fleſh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed, and,* [a] *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you; or, my Fleſh which was nailed upon the Croſs, and my Blood which was ſhed by the Souldiers Spear.*

S. [b] *Auſtin*, who is juſtly eſteemed the Oracle of the Weſtern Churches, adds a pregnant teſtimony to this Aſſertion. *The firſt hereſy*, ſaies he, *in the Diſciples of Chriſt was occaſioned by the hardneſs of his words: for when he told them,* [c] *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you: they not apprehending him, ſaid one to another,* [d] *This is a hard ſaying, who can bear it? In ſaying*

[z] *In cap. 1. Epiſt. ad Eph. & refert. Can. duplicit. de Conſecr. diſt* 2. [a] *John* 6. 55. [b] *in Pſal.* 54. [c] *John* 6. 55. [d] *John* 6. 60.

this

this is hard, they ſeparated themſelves from him. But he remained with his twelve Diſciples, and taught them ſaying, [e] *It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing; the words I ſpeak unto you, they are ſpirit, and they are life. Do you underſtand them in a ſpiritual manner, they are ſpirit and life; do you underſtand them in a carnal manner, they they are no leſs ſpirit, but not for thee who underſtandeſt them not ſpiritually. Spiritually apprehend what I have ſaid, Non hoc corpus quod videtur manducaturi eſtis, & bibituri ſanguinem quem effuſuri ſunt, qui me crucifigent. The Sacrament I recommend to you quickneth when it is underſtood ſpiritually, but the fleſh profiteth nothing. They anſwered him according to their apprehenſion, for they underſtood this fleſh, as it is uſed to be ſold in a carcaſs, or torn in the ſhambles.* Jeſus *knowing their error, ſaid to them, What I told you of giving you my Body to eat, and my Blood to drink, ſcandalizeth you; but what will you ſay, if you ſee the Son of Man aſcending to the place where he was before? He reſolves here what he had propoſed to them; he ſhews them that which they were ſcandalized*

[e] *John* 6. 63.

by,

by, to the end they might apprehend him. In this manner they thought he would have given them his Body, Ille dixit ſe aſcenſurum in cœlum, utique integrum, When you ſhall ſee the Son of Man aſcending to the place where he was before, then you will know he gives not his Body as you underſtand it. You will then apprehend that his Grace non conſumitur morſibus; till the end of the World the Lord is above, but yet the truth of the Lord is upon Earth with us; Corpus enim in quo reſurrexit in uno loco eſſe oportet, veritas autem ejus ubique diffuſa eſt.

That incomparable Doctor ſpeaks after the ſame manner when he teacheth that all places of the Scripture, which ſeem contrary to truth and good manners, are to be underſtood in a figurative ſenſe.

If you find, [f] ſaies he, *a Commandment which forbids a crime, or enjoins any good action, then its ſenſe is not figurative; but it is otherwiſe when it ſeems to command a crime, and prohibit a good action.* [g] *Except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood ye have no life in you, ſaies Chriſt. That word ſeems to command a crime*

[f] *De Doctrin. Chriſt. lib.* 3. *c.* 10. 16. [g] *John* 6. 55

figura

figura eſt ergo, it is therefore a figure, which bids us communicate in the Paſſion of our Lord, and recall into our memories with ſuavity and utility, that his fleſh hath bin wounded and nailed upon the Croſs for us.

XIII.

To what the Church of *Rome* believes concerning Tranſubſtantiation, we may add her practice in taking away the Cup. She is not contented with changing the nature of a Sacrament, but thinks it lawfull to tear and divide it.

All the learned men of her Communion aſſent to the following Propoſitions.

Firſt, That Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood under both kinds of Bread and Wine.

Secondly, That he inſtituted it thus for all Chriſtians, and ſaid [h] *drink*, as he ſaid *eat*, without any diſtinction of of Prieſts and Lay-men being the Savior of all.

Thirdly, That at leaſt for twelve hundred years ſuch a practiſe hath bin faith-

[h] *Matth.* 26. 26.

fully

fully observed in all the Churches in the World, and is still in the Eastern.

Fourthly, That its intermission is not grounded upon any invincible reason, or irremediable inconveniences. For it would be the greatest piece of non-sense in the World to affirm, that the Church of *Rome* in the thirteenth Age hath seen inconveniencies, which the Catholic Church could not foresee in twelve hundred years, and the Greek is still ignorant of.

Yet the Council of *Trent* persevere in so considerable an innovation, stop its ears to the cries of an infinite numbe of Souls, who beseech their Fathers substance might not be so cruelly divided and stiles this *a Liberty the Church has always bin Mistress of, to dispense Sacraments as she judges it convenient.*

But suppose the Sacrament to be no less compleat under one kind then both, and that the Cup is but an addition to it: We, notwithstanding, maintain the Church hath no autority to change any thing Christ hath instituted, and prescribes the observation of. All reasons in such occasions must be suspected, when Christ himself speaks, promulgates himself

ſelf his own Laws, and commands them to be put in execution, as he hath done here, all our pretended inconveniences are then groſs errors; nor muſt we affect to be wiſer then the eternal Wiſdom, who foreſaw better then we can do, the reaſons of our ſcandals.

Had Chriſt inſtituted all the Ceremonies the Church judged neceſſary for the greater decency of her Worſhip, and commanded the obſervation of them, it would be a dreadful crime to cut off the leaſt.

But Pope *Gelaſius* ſpeaks not of that diviſion as of the taking away of a ſimple Ceremony; [1] *We heard*, ſaies he, *that ſome by I know not what ſuperſtition, after having received the ſacred Body refuſed the Cup of the precious Blood. But for ſuch*, aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur. The reaſon of that learned Pope is worthy to be weighed, *becauſe*, ſaies he, *diviſio unius ejuſdemque myſterii ſine grandi ſacrilegio non poteſt pervenire.* One and the ſame myſtery cannot be divided without a grand ſacriledge.

[1] *Epiſt. ad Majoric. & Joan. Epiſc. & refer. c. comperimus de conſecrat. &c. diſt. 2.*

Pope *Gelasius* and the Fathers of *Trent* are wonderfully opposed: these say the Sacrament *is no less perfect under one kind then under both*; *that such a division is a wise dispensation, which cannot be reasonably contradicted*: the other calls the distribution of the precious Body and Blood one and the same Sacrament, and stiles that prudent dispensation, *a division of two things united by Christ, which cannot be done without an horrid sacrilege*.

Which then of the two, *Gelasius* or *Paul* III. must be supposed to have pronounced *ex Cathedra*? If the *Jesuits* are choſen Judges between them, *Gelasius* shall be condemned: for *Salmero* and another of his Society were so impious as to say in the midst of the Council, *that sometimes the Devil transforms himself into an Angell of Light, but now appears covered with the Cup of Christs Blood to offer a draught of poyson*.

But as if it had not bin enough to have committed so great an enormity, without adding to it an insufferable ignorance, these two most holy and learned Fathers (as a most holy and learned *Jesuit* styles them, all the members of that Society being *ipso facto* most holy and learned

learned) begged of Cardinal *Madruccio*, *That it might be added to the Canons already made, that the Sacrament was instituted under both kinds only for the Apoſtles and Prieſts.*

XIV.

The Canons of the fourteenth Seſſion are no leſs oppoſite to Antiquity, wherein the Council defines Repentance to be a Sacrament: a Doctrine unknown till the time of *Eugenius* IV. The Arch-Biſhop of *Caſarea* tells us in a Book he entitled *De Reformatione Scholaſticæ* (which he conſidered as a great ſtep to that of the Church) that *Eugenius* aſcribed it to the *Florentine* Council, tho ſuch a Decree had never bin read or ſeen there. 'Tis an effect of the Popes uſual ſincerity. So that for twelve hundred years together the Church is ſilent in this point.

Now what muſt a Chriſtian think of a Council, that gives to our human ſatisfactions and poor Sacrifices the power due only to the unſpeakable merits of Chriſt? Who without juſt indignation can hear *that our Alms and Faſtings expiate our ſins, and preſerve us from eternal Death?* Did ever any Councils, Fathers, or Divines

run into ſuch exceſſes? nor do we pretend to embrace the other extreme, and diſwade Chriſtians from that life, wch the Saints term *a Croſs and a Martyrdom.* We think that it not only obliges Penitents but Innocents alſo, and we are ſtruck with fear at theſe words of Chriſt, [k] *Except ye repent ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.* But far be it from us to confine our Repentance to ſome tranſient and ſlight exercices of Piety. We require that ſinners die continually to themſelves, that they think no pleaſures lawful but ſuch as the miſeries of humane life render neceſſary and unavoidable; that they endure rather then enjoy them, and bewail the blindneſs and obdurateneſs of an infinite number of Souls, who being made drunk by the pride and wantonneſs of the World, are irrecoverably ruined.

But when a ſinner groans under a voluntary preſſure, faſts, praies, and impoveriſheth himſelf to enrich the poor, inſtead of puffing him up with ſelf-conceit, and flattering him with a perſwaſion that he ſatisfies God, we depreſs him more and more, ſtill repeating to him this Leſſon, That according to the Oracles

[k] *Luk.* 23. 3.

of

of the Word of God, and the practiſe of his Saints, * *the moſt laudable life examined in his Juſtice, is an abomination in his ſight, and that the greateſt penitent in the moſt burning fervor of his Penance for his ſins paſt, ſtands in need at every moment of new mercy to obliterate and forgive the preſent.*

XV.

Nor do we leſs wonder at the Anathema pronounc'd by the Fathers at *Trent*, againſt thoſe that think Attrition with Confeſſion inſufficient for the pardon of ſins. That is, thoſe who believe the very ſame that till then was conſtantly a part of the Churches belief, and are perſwaded that a man deſiſting from ſin againſt God, out of fear of puniſhment, is not accounted guiltleſs by him.

This their Aſſertion is ſo true, that the learned men of the Church of *Rome* are at a loſs to give a favorable interpretation to the words of the Council. And we have ſeen a [1] Biſhop in *Flanders* ſo admirable and profound every where elſe, ſcarce underſtood when he endeavors to make the Council ſpeak, what he is perſwaded it ſhould.

* *Auguſt.* [1] *Janſenius lib. 5. de Grat. Chriſt. Salvat. c. 34.*

To

To perceive at first sight all the consequences of this Principle, we need but consider the abominable interpretations *Jesuits* have given of it. Both the doctrine & practise of these Friars is so enormous upon that point, that we want words to express it. This is the foundation whereon *Bauny*, *Escobar*, *Tambourin*, *Sanchez*, *Vasquez*, and other such Monsters, build their infamous Morals. Wherein they are not contented to teach all manner of crimes, but afford means how to commit them with impunity, and as much as in them lies, cheat both God and their consciences. But leaving these favorers of sin to Gods judgements, let it suffice us to say, that we are so far from blaming Fear in general, that we acknowledge [m] *there is a chast fear which endureth for ever more.* We learn from the sacred Writings, that *fear of eternal pains is the beginning of Wisdom. None*, saies S. [n] *Austin*, *can come to love but by fear, he must begin with the chain of Iron, before he be adorned with the Golden Neck-lace.*

So when God strikes a sinner with the fear of his Judgements, 'tis the first step to his Conversion: but if he never goes

[m] *Psal.* 120. 19. [n] *In Ps.* 144.

further

further he ſhall never be juſtified in his ſight. Love is *at leaſt* an eſſential condition for the forgiving our ſins. We are juſtified by Faith, but it is by *Faith that worketh by Love* [o], not by a dead Faith, which brings forth nothing, nor by a ſterile one, which goes not ſo far as to produce fear; nor by a ſlaviſh one, which only refrains us thro the apprehenſions of puniſhment, and would never leave off ſinning, did it not ſtill behold the thunder of Divine vengeance alwaies hanging over it; but by a Faith full of Love and pious zeal, which in the ſtricteſt bonds unites our hearts to our crucified Savior, gives us a lively repreſentation of his ſufferings, revives in us an ardent deſire of ſhaking off the vices of the old Man, to be inveſted with the life and vertues of the New. To renounce all things for our Redeemer, and at leaſt *to love our God*, as S. *Auſtin* excellently preſcribes, *with as much fidelity and ardency as we have loved the Creatures.*

In the Epiſtles of the Apoſtle [p] we find that the great advantage of the Sons of God, above thoſe of the Devil, and their true and intrinſecal diſtinction, is, *to*

[o] *Gal.* 5. 6. [p] *Rom.* 8. & 9.

have

have bin diveſted of the ſpirit of bondage to fear, which belongs properly to the Jews, and to have received *the Spirit of Adoption*, which is the lot of Chriſtians. The one brings them to God as to their Father, the other frights them as with the preſence of their Judge.

But till Faith, [q] *which worketh by Love*, hath enlarged our hearts, and begotten in us the diſpoſition of Sons, there is no hopes of pardon. For let us diſpute to the end of the World, tire our Readers with the multitude and ſubtlety of our diſtinctions, and make our fancies the Rules of Gods Decrees, thoſe only ſhall receive pardon whom Grace hath converted, and made his Sons.

Fear is good and uſefull, [r] *bonus eſt iſte timor, utilis eſt*, thoſe that are ſtruck with it, *ſaluberrimo timore quatiuntur*. But 'tis inſufficient, and ſomething more is required. 'Tis the Jews gift, the Character of the Slaves, the ſpirit of the old Teſtament, [s] *ibi plebs longè ſtabat, timor erat, amor non erat*. 'Tis an [t] effect of that univerſal infirm Grace God has granted to all men, but not of that particular and

[q] *Aug. in Pſal.* 127. *Id. l. de Catec. rud. c.* 5. [r] *Id. Ser.* 6. *de Verb. Apoſt.* [s] *Id. ibid.*

victo-

victorious one which Christ hath got for us by his death; and poured into our hearts by the Holy Ghost. [t] *Cum enim adest vivificans spiritus, hoc ipsum intus conscriptum facit diligi, quod foris scriptum lex faciebat timeri.*

The Fathers of the Primitive times apprehended the nature of that fear quite in another manner then the Fathers of *Trent* did.

First, They did consider that its Source was nothing else but a prodigious self-love. They that are in those dispositions of fear the Council is satisfied with, do not seek so much to return to their God, and give themselves to him, as to preserve their quiet and their bodies in the future life. [u] *Propterea enim timentur apud inferos pœnæ, & dolores ac tormenta Gehennarum.*

Secondly, They knew that a man whom fear only refrains from sinning, loses not the love and desire of sin, but sins still in his heart, [x] *Sic profecto in ipsa intus voluntate peccat, qui non voluntate, sed timore non peccat.*

[t] *Id. l. de spir. & litt. c.* 19. [u] *Id. Serm.* 114. *de temp: t.* 3. [x] *Id. l.* 1. *ad Bonif. c.* 9.

S. [y] *Austin* compares these persons to a wife who is not true to her husband but because she is afraid of being punished if she be found not so. 'Tis certain she commits adultery in her heart, since she would not persevere innocent if she could contract guilt without punishment.

'Tis like a Wolf, saies that holy Doctor, who being surprized by the watchfull Shepherd, and the cry of the Dogs, is obliged to fly without doing any harm: he is not cruel and bloody, he tears no Sheep in pieces. *Venit fremens, redit tremens,* [z] *he came on raging, returns trembling,* but in these two circumstances he is still a Wolf. He doth not execute his bad design, nor yet doth he leave it. *Lupus est tamen & fremens & tremens.*

Thirdly, They were perswaded that the righteousness which fear produces in a sinner is from the Law and men, which the Apostle counts [a] *but dung; who sees not,* saies one of the Fathers, [b] *that righteousness which is from the Law comes from men,*

[y] *Id. tract. 9. in Epist. Joan.* [z] *Id. Serm. 14. de verb. Apost. c. 9.* [a] *Phil. 3. 8.* [b] *Fulg. l. 2. de Incar. & Grat. Christi. c. 27.*

but

but that which is by Christ comes from God? Justitiam vero quæ ex fide Christi est, non esse nisi ex Deo. A man may be ſtill ſinfull and Gods enemy with ſuch a righteouſneſs. *Ideo cum in illa quæ ex lege est justitia sine querela conversaretur Apostolus, fuisse se impium non negat.*

Fourthly, they taught, That ſorrow conceiv'd only out of fear of puniſhment, is a ſorrow of Infidels, and that if God were ſatisfied with that, there is no man in the World that could chuſe but be innocent; ſince no man that has but the leaſt *Idea* of the life to come, but is moved with its apprehenſion. [c] *Non enim peccare metuit ſed ardere.*

This is a principle the Fathers have with unanimous conſent maintained. This the Popes in former Ages taught. Nay thoſe that ſit now in the Apoſtolical See would do ſo too, if with the modeſty and humility of their Predeceſſors they had not alſo rejected their doctrine.

XVI.

The Council ſeems, in its laſt Seſſion,

[c] *Aug. Epiſ.* 144. *ad Anaſt.*

to gather all its ſtrength againſt thoſe who reject Purgatory, and deprive Saints, Images, and Reliques of their due honor.

Yet it appears the Fathers of *Trent* agreed, that all thoſe things, Purgatory excepted, are not founded upon Scripture, but only upon the General Councils and Writings of the Fathers. This is collected out of the very words of the Decree, the Council there ſpeaking of Eccleſiaſtical antiquity, but not a word of the Scripture.

A Perſon of extraordinary merit has undertaken to lay open the myſteries of Purgatory; and as he leaves nothing unſaid on that ſubject, ſo none can take it ill if I refer my Reader to him.

For thoſe other things, Invocation of Saints, Images, and Reliques, 'tis eaſy in a few words to ſhew how infirm their ground is in the ancient Doctrine of the Church.

All learned men in the Church of *Rome* admit of the following Propoſitions.

Firſt, That nothing in the Scripture authorizes theſe practices, or at leaſt,

[d] *Seſſ.* 25.

no-

nothing ſure, fixt, cleer, and undoubted.

Secondly, That all places taken out of Scripture, by modern Writers, to prove theſe things, have never bin made uſe of by the Ancients for that purpoſe, and ſo are of no autority, the ancients being moſt holy and aſſured Interpreters of the Scriptures.

Thirdly, That till the ſeventh pretended General Council, that is, for eight hundred years, there was not any deciſion made of them.

Fourthly, That to this pretended General Council, we oppoſe others acknowledged General by the Collector of the Councils, but as all learned men confeſs, endued with theſe Qualities.

1. More exact in the Diſcuſſion of matters, as it appears by their Acts.
2. Called by an holy Emperor and peculiar Benefactor to the Church of *Rome*.
3. Free from all Suſpicions of oppreſſion which the ſeventh is guilty of.
4. That the conſent of the Fathers upon that Doctrine is neither clear nor unanimous

nimous, and that if in any of later dat there be ſome places tending that way there are in the ſame, and many other a thouſand contrary places to invali- date them.

5. That if we ſpeak according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome* i ſelf, there can no more then a ſimpl probability be pleaded in this caſe, an that none of the greateſt neither, bu to both parties favorable.

But there is not a Divine in the Worl who dares affirm, that an Article of Fait can be built upon a ſimple probability nor declare them impious and blaſphe mous who have a contrary probabilit nor excommunicate them and ſeparat them from the Church, that is, inflic upon them the moſt dreadful puniſh ment.

How could the Fathers of *Trent* there- fore do this? why did they not fear that threatning of the wiſe Man [e], *Sicut avis i incertum volans & quolibet vadens, ſic ma- ledictum fruſtrà prolatum venit ſuper eum qui miſit illud*? Nor that of *Origen* [f], when

[e] *Prov.* 26. 2. [f] *Orig. ſup. Lect. cap.* 24. *Hom.* 14. *& refer. Can. cum aliquis. cap.* 24. *quæſt.* 3.

a man is unjuſtly put out of the Church, he ceaſeth not to be within, when he that thinks himſelf within may be really out?

XVII.

Saints pray in general for all Chriſtians. For tho they triumph in Heaven, yet they are her members, who ſtrives and combats upon Earth. They are indeed united to their Head, which is Chriſt, but yet they ſtill preſerve the remembrance of the Body, which is the Church.

They are a part of that Spouſe, *who*, as S. *Bernard* [a] ſaies, *ſighs after the Bridegroome, and begs a kiſs from his mouth*; wiſheth for the end of the World, that Chriſt would haſten his Judgement, and manifeſt that day wherein he will begin to be all in all.

'Tis in that very ſenſe the Apoſtle ſaies, *The whole Creation groans and travails in pain till now, even we our ſelves groan within our ſelves, waiting for the Adoption, to wit the Redemption of our Body*, ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος [b].

[a] *Ser.* 1. *ſuper Cantic.* [b] *Rom.* 8. 22.

So

So S. *Cyprian* [i] assures us, *That the Saints being ſecure of their immortality are careful of our Salvation.*

S. *Jerome* argues againſt *Vigilantius* in this manner. *If the Apoſtles and Martyrs being yet in their Bodies, can pray for others, much more when they have conquered, are crowned and triumph.*

And S. *Auſtin* yet more perfectly, *The Saints in Heaven*, ſaies [k] he, *offering their prayers for the neceſſity of thoſe that pray, God grants to every one all thoſe comforts he judges moſt ſuitable to them in the miſeries of the preſent life.*

But there is a vaſt difference between the Invocation whereby we direct our Prayers to the Saints, and the interceſſion of the Saints for us. And none of theſe things are to be found in the Tradition.

1. That the Saints pray for any particular perſon.

2. That they obtain any favors for us by their own merits.

[i] *Lib. de immortal.* [k] *Lib. de Cur. pro mort. gerend. c.* 16.

3.

3. That it is lawful to honor them with a religious worship.

XVIII.

And to discover with how little sincerity the Council of *Trent* speaks of this custom, that it has bin preserved [l] *à primævis Christianæ Religionis temporibus*, it is enough to say, that their most learned Men confess it was the sentiment of the Primitive Fathers, that the Souls of the Saints should not enjoy the sight of God till the day of Judgement; and consequently could neither speak in favor of us, nor offer to him our praiers. *S. Irene*, *Justin*, *S. Clement*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Augustin*, *Eutimius*, *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, *Aretas*, are said to have bin of that opinion. Nay S. [m] *Bernard* preach't it: which shews that this Doctrine continued till the twelfth Age of the Church.

[l] *Sess.* 25. [m] *Ser.* 3 & 4 *in fest. omnium Sanct.*

XIX.

Indeed we cannot too much honor thoſe holy men, who preſerve with an undaunted reſolution the precious Treſures committed to their charge. We muſt admire them in the powerful effects of Chriſts Grace, who in a corruptible fleſh and a ſinfull World has preſerved them pure and undefiled. The conſtancy of Martyrs, the auſterity of Penitents, the inviolated purity of Virgins, who deſpiſed all other ambition beſides that of being near *the Lamb*, deſerve all our Praiſes. Nay a true Chriſtian makes his actions conformable to his Praiſes, imitates what he extolls, and conſiders thoſe excellent Patterns as ſo many reproches to the diſorders and remiſneſs of his life. But he is not induced thereby to invocate them, to aſcribe to them what is due to God alone, and offer them Prayers, which being commanded neither by the Precepts of Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles, ſpring rather from a blind Superſtition, then a well ordered Piety. [n] *Non Religioni*

[n] *Tertull. de Orat. c.* 12.

ſed

ſed Superſtitioni deputantur.

XX.

But ſuppoſing the Church of *Rome* had ſome ſmall ground in Antiquity for the Invocation of Saints, ſhe has not the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon for the worſhipping their Images.

Nor is it difficult to prove, that Images [o] are a remnant of heatheniſh Ceremonies, which a blind zeal for the memory of the Apoſtles brought into the Church. Hence the Fathers of the Primitive times became extremly zealous to interdict not only their worſhip, but their very ſight in the Churches. So *Origen*, *Euſebius* [p], *Juſtin Martyr*, &c. inveigh on all occaſions againſt Images. The *Eliberitan* Council, where the great *Oſius* [q] was preſent, he whom the Councils [r] ſtile *their Father and Maſter*, condemns by an expreſs Canon the placing any ſort of Images in Churches. S. [s] *E-*

[o] *Euſeb. l.* 1. *Hiſt. Eccl. c.* 17. [p] *Euſeb. in Chron. an.* 197. *&* 119. *Juſt. orat. ad Ant. p.* 132. [q] *Can.* 56. [r] *Conc. Nicen.* 2. *ac.* 6. [s] *Epiſtol. ad Joan. Hieroſolym.*

piphanius forbids the having Images in Churches, or in the Crypts of the Martyrs. And to ſhew that his practice did not contradict his Precepts, he gives an account to *John* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, how having found at the entrance of the Church at *Anablatta* an Image of our Savior, painted upon a Curtain, *he tore it, and wiſhed the Prieſts to make uſe of it for the burial of ſome poor perſon.*

XXI.

But it is clearer then the light, that by the word *Adoration* the holy Fathers meant all manner of Worſhip. Thoſe famous men had a Divinity of ſenſe not of terms: they were not acquainted with thoſe Diſtinctions which became the whole buſineſs of Scholaſtics in ſucceeding Ages. They no leſs included external worſhip then internal, and thought not the one leſs dangerous then the other.

S. *Auguſtin* was not perſwaded that a man could ſo purify his intentions in adoring an Image, but that the Wood and

and Stone muſt needs bear ſome part in it. *Who is the man*, ſaies that holy [t] Doctor, *who looking upon an Image, either worſhips or praiſeth, qui non ſic afficitur, ut ab eo ſe exaudiri putet? hoc enim facit & quodammodo exterquet figura membrorum. I know*, ſaies the ſame Saint, in his admirable [u] Book *De Moribus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, That there are many worſhippers of the Sepulchres and Pictures of Martyrs, Multos Sepulchrorum & Picturarum adoratores. But I adviſe you not to take occaſion thence of ſlandering the Catholic Church, in aggravating the faults of thoſe People whom ſhe her ſelf condemns, quos ipſa condemnat & corrigere ſtudet.*

This excellent place ſhews that there are many diſorders in the Church, the Church is not at all guilty of; and that thoſe are in the wrong, who charge a whole Society with the faults of ſome of its particular members.

So that when we ſpeak againſt worſhipping of Images, we exclaim not againſt that ſhameful traffick exerciſed in the Churches of the Mendicants, neither

[t] *In Pſal.* 113. 2. *par. Pſal.* [u] *Cap.* 34.

againſt

againſt thoſe Chappels ſet round with pieces of wax and ſilver, nor againſt thoſe falſe Miracles, which are only ſo many baits, whereby covetous Monks delude the ignorant and ſimple, and enrich themſelves.

All theſe things *Eccleſia Romana condemnat & corigere ſtudet.* It is well known the pious men of theſe Monaſteries are troubled at ſuch abuſes, and Biſhops wiſh they were able to apply a remedy to them. But we combat the Decrees and Canons of the Roman Church, things to which the contrary ſentiments are by her ſtiled *Impiety.* We give them no other ſenſe, then ſhe her ſelf would put upon them; and we maintain in their moſt favorable interpretation, that ſhe has made Laws of ſome points, *quas ipſa Eccleſia Catholica condemnat, & corrigere ſtudet.*

XXII.

There is not a learned perſon in the Church of *Rome*, who doth not conſent, that to paint God Almighty has bin accounted

counted a crime for twelve hundred years.

'Tis not lawfull for a Christian, saies S. [x] *Austin, to put in any Church the Image of God in a humane shape.* Nevertheless the Council of *Trent* makes it a Virtue to admit of them. There is not a Church in which you may not see the unworthy Pictures of an immense and incomprehensible God, whose most perfect delineation consists in the impossibility both Men and Angels lie under of conceiving any. The Popes Chappell is filled with them, and his holiness is pleased to forget that one of the cheif Patrons [y] of Images calls it *a folly and an extreme Impiety.*

XXIII.

Neither is there any understanding person who doth not acknowledge, that the most obstinate Defenders of Images never went so far as to maintain, that this soveraign Worship should be rendred to them which is due to God alone. 'Tis by this only reason, they pretend to

[x] *Lib. de Fid. & Symbol. c.* 17. [y] *Damascenus, Orthodoxæ Fidei. l.* 4. *c.* 17.

free

free themselves of that Idolatry which was laid to their charge. So that it is a meer evasion of those who answer to all the authorities of the fifth, sixth, and seventh Ages against Images, that they were levelled only against Divine and supreme worship, being a ridiculous dealing, no way chargeable upon grave Men. But the Church of *Rome* to persuade the receiving of these things, calls them with an incredible insincerity, *Ancient practices*; strives to amuze people by swelling and high flown words; and because he miserably abandons himself to his own reason, and sinks under the most horrid Impiety who respects not true Councils and Fathers, that of *Trent* speaks of nothing but Apostolical Traditions, Consent of Fathers, and authority of Councils.

XXIV.

All these magnificent promises are reduced to a miserable Conventicle, held in the eighth Age, to which no Western Bishops, nor any of the two parts of the East, not one of the three Pa-

Patriarchs of *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, came; which Pope *Nicholas* I. and *Adrian* II. durſt never call General.

A Council [z] called by a cruel and diſordered Prince, wherein *Irene* his mother ſate Preſident, ſo ambitious and unnatural a woman, that ſhe commanded the eies of her own Son to be plucked out.

A Council, at which the moſt conſiderable perſon preſent was *Thalaſſius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, a man who, as Pope *Adrian* [a] deſcribes him, from a Lay-man became Biſhop, from an illiterate Courtier, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, whom the ſame Pope (ſaies [b] he) *abhorred as a Monſter*, *ut monſtrum exhorruit*, *made Biſhop againſt all Ordinances and Canons*.

A Council that founded its Decrees upon Viſions and meer Fables, ſuch as one of the meaneſt ſpirit muſt needs be offended at. The Image of our Saviour given to King *Abgarus*, the Leproſy, Baptiſm, and miraculous recovery of

[z] *Paul. Diac. Hiſt. in Conſtant.* [a] *Epiſt. in Concil. Nic.* 2. *Act.* 3. [b] *Id. bid.*

Constantine are things of that nature, as the learned in the Church of *Rome* do now account supposititious; not to alledge many others, which deserve that the Council of [c] *Francfort* should object, *That those Nicene Fathers not being able to prove their Decrees, either by the autority of the Scripture, or the testimonies and examples of the Saints, had recurred to fancies and Dreams.*

A Council which the Assembly at *Francfort* [d] of 300. Bishops, headed by *Charles* the Great, declared to be so annulled and abrogated, that it ought not to be put in the order of Councils, unless of such as *Ariminum*.

Lastly, a Council which the learned Defenders of Images were so loath to defend, that it had continued buried in a deep oblivion, had not the *Jesuit Maimbourg* [e] three years since raised it from its Grave, but alas! in what a manner!

First, he affected (and this is his confession and glory) to write in a Romantick stile upon one of the gravest Controversies in Religion; as if matters of

[c] *Act. Concil Franc. l.* 3. *c.* 26. [d] *Ibid. li.* 1. *p.* 79.
[e] *Histoire des Iconoclastes.*

Divi-

Divinity, and the Oracles of the living God, were of the ſame metal, as thoſe abominable Books.

Secondly, in writing againſt *Iconoclaſts* he never directed his arrows againſt them, but deſigned to fix them in the hearts of the *Janſeniſts*. Prepoſterous and irrational fancy! being put to it how to recover the loſt honor of his Society ſo trampled on in the ſight of all Chriſtendom, he reſolved to attack once more his Conquerors, not out of any hopes of Victory, but out of impatience the natural product of Pride.

He durſt not therefore come into the open Field, and renew that Quarrel his Society had ſo ſhamefully begun, and ſo unhappily proſecuted; but betook himſelf to by waies, and thought it more ſecure and glorious to repreſent the *Janſeniſts* under the notion of *Iconoclaſts*, and the imputed rebellion of the one againſt the Apoſtolical See, under the hiſtory of the other.

Thirdly, He ſo ill contrived his deſign, that he loſt the Character of both, and only betrayed himſelf to be of a ſpirit bold and temerarious; who with

more then a Jeſuitical impudence deliyers lies as confidently as others do truth.

His Hiſtory of the *Arians*, and this of the *Iconoclaſts*, both daughters of the ſame brain, both written with the ſame deſign, had alſo the ſame fate. Neither was anſwered; thoſe whom they were chiefly levelled againſt, being there ſo unskilfully delineated as not to know themſelves: nor indeed would they ever have done ſo, had not that Author, doating upon his ſo well reſembling Babe, and the *Jeſuits* (who like the Spaniards, triumph as well when beaten as when Conquerors,) ſpread it through the World. But I have ſpent too many words upon ſo inconſiderable a Writer.

XXV.

To return then to our purpoſe: who of any ſenſe or reaſon, hearing the Fathers of *Trent* [f] ſay, that they permit the worſhip of Images, *juxta Catholicæ Eccleſiæ uſum à primævis Chriſtiana Re-*

[f] *Sess.* 25.

ligionis

ligionis temporibus receptum, Sanctorumque Patrum conſenſionem, & Sacrorum Conciliorum Decreta; and then ſeeking all theſe great things, finds,

1. That for 800. years the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church has determined nothing of it.

2. That all the Fathers are contrary to it.

3. That thoſe ſacred Councils ſo magnificently alledged, are nothing but a miſerable Conventicle at the end of the eighth Age.

4. That *England*, *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, part of *France* and *Poland*, declare againſt it.

What man of any ſenſe, I ſay, conſidering all this will not conclude,

1. That we ought to diſtruſt all the Decrees of *Trent*, and ſome being evidently falſe, give little credit to the moſt true.

2. That

2. That the Fathers of *Trent* had not the Charity of the Apoſtles, whoſe Succeſſors they were, ſince they excluded from their Communion ſo many conſiderable Churches for a point, which themſelves acknowledg not to be grounded on Scripture.

Not neceſſary to Salvation,

Not related to Faith, Manners, Sacraments and Diſcipline.

And Proteſtants not requiring Images to be pulled down, as did S. *Epiphanius* and S. *Serenus*, but only their uſe to be ordered, as it was in S. *Auſtin* and S. *Gregory*'s time.

3. That the Church of *Rome* being immoveable upon the Controverted points, ſhe muſt give us leave to addreſs to her Council the ſame words the Fathers of [g] *Francfort* did to the *Nicene*. *Out of what fury or rather madneſs doth unius partis Eccleſia attempt to eſtabliſh that which has never bin eſtabliſht by the Apoſtles or their immediate Succeſſors, and oblige them either to undergo the Anathema ſo vainly pronounced againſt them,*

[g] *Act Conc. Franc. ibid. ibid.*

or

or diſobey the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions?

Were they not promted by her, who is called in Scripture, *the ancient poiſon, the guide of Death, the root of all evil*, they would never ſtrive to fix the name of *General Council* to their Aſſembly, had without the conſent of many Catholick Churches. They would never take upon them to anathematize with ſuch boldneſs ſo many and ſo conſiderable Churches, which are no leſs then they the Body of Chriſt.

REFLE-

REFLEXIONS
On the Council of *TRENT*.

Diſcourſe III.

That the Council of Trent *was ſo far from reforming the diſorders which had crept into the Church, that it really made the breaches in its diſcipline wider, and cut off all hopes of correcting the antient abuſes.*

I.

WHatever Eccleſiaſtical diſorders are recorded in the Writings of the Antients, they ſeem in no reſpect equal to thoſe which infeſted the Church about the time of the Council of *Trent*. In the firſt Ages

indeed, the zeal and ſeverity of Chriſtians rendred every fault conſpicuous; but in the laſt the moſt pious could hardly ſuffice to expreſs her real and conſtant evils. This produc'd the deſires of a general Reformation; eſpecially that he who pretends to be upon Earth the ſupreme Judg of all men, would judg himſelf, take ſome pity of his own Soul; and ſince the diſtempers of the Church ow'd their original to the Apoſtolical See, begin at that part from whence the cure of all the reſt was hoped for.

II.

Whereas then the Worlds recovery depended on that of the Popes, they ought willingly to have embraced the occaſion of doing ſo great a good. Nor could leſs be hoped, then that conſidering the promotion of Piety as their proper Intereſt, they would ſacrifice all others to it: and the Council of *Trent*, which laſted eighteen years, raiſ'd the expectations of all good Chriſtians, that the tears of ſo many Nations would not be ſhed in vain. But by the dreadful judgment of God it miſerably baffled the Churches cries, and inſtead of cloſing her wounds, opened and created new ones. For

For to evince the truth of which ſo great reproch, we need only conſider two particulars,

1. The diſtempers of the Church.
2. The remedies applied to them.

And from the conſideration of theſe, there will none, I hope, but confeſs, that the Fathers of this Council acted the part of an unfaithful Chirurgion, who to cure a leſs noble part, inflicts a deadly wound to the heart of his Patient.

III.

We intend not here to treat of any perſonal defects, which ſhew'd themſelves in the Popes private life, but ſhall confine them only to thoſe which were public, when they dealt as Popes, "as infallible, "as the Oracles of the Holy Ghoſt, as "maſters both of Men and Angels, as "judges both of the quick and dead: in a word, "as men of whom, according to their own [a] Books, 'tis not allow'd to en-"quire, *Domine cur ita facis?*

IV.

That Ambition and Covetouſneſs have bin the two originary ſins of the Popes;

[a] *Eſpenc. in cap. 1. ep. ad Titum.*

and that to theſe two Heads may be reduc'd all the reſt, the very complaints of their own Hiſtorians, and moſt famous Authors do evince. By the firſt, they made a ſhift to raiſe themſelves above Spiritual and Temporal Powers, to excommunicate and depoſe Kings, to invade the juriſdiction of other Biſhops, to break thro all ancient and modern Canons; and inſtead of being rul'd by the General Councils of the Catholic Church, to exalt themſelves above them. By the ſecond they made uſe of all ſacred and profane means to enrich themſelves, reduc'd all Benefices into that ſtate, as not to be attain'd but by [a] Simony, and ſacrific'd all things to the raiſing of their Families. As for the honor of their Dignity, the glory of the Goſpel, and the conſideration of the ſcandal of the Church, theſe could never over-power in them the more ſtrong impreſſions of Fleſh and Blood. The invention of *Croiſados* being worn out, they had recourſe to that of Indulgences, ſet to ſale the abſolution of ſins; and [b] whoſoever fill'd the Apoſtolic Treaſure, tho he were more profligate than the

[a] *Cardin.* of *Cambray*, *l. de reform. Eccl.* [b] *Centum gravam. grav.* 1. & 3.

bad

bad Thief, became more innocent then the good.

V.

Nor was it enough barely to fall into ſo many diſorders, unleſs they undertook alſo to Canonize them, and thereby bring themſelves under that dreadful Curſe which God pronounces againſt thoſe that call evil good. 'Twas for this purpoſe that *Rome* hath bred up ſuch Doctors, as flatter the Popes even to Idolatry, ſtiling them Gods upon Earth. Theſe gave birth to the monſtrous Doctrine of Infallibility, never before heard of in the Church for 1400 years. Theſe had the face to maintain, that if all the World ſhould oppoſe their Sentiment, all the World muſt be ſlighted. And to ſum up in a word, all that can be ſaid on that matter, they have ſo far enſlav'd themſelves to their paſſion, as to decree in one of their Canons, that [a] *if the Pope ſhould be neglectful of his Brethrens ſalvation, improfitable to the Church, dumb in what concerns her good, tho he ſhould carry along with him to hell an innumerable number of ſouls, yet no man living can preſume to correct him.*

[a] *Diſtinct.* 40. *Can ſi Papa.*

Theſe

VI.

These things are neither exaggerations nor slanders, but meer matters of Fact, which the best Authors of the *Roman* Church, as Monsieur *D'Espences*, *Gerson* the Chancellor of *Paris*, *Marsilius* of *Pavia*, the Cardinal of *Cambray*, the Cardinal *Cusan*, *Æneas Sylvius* afterwards Pope, do equally complain of. And without ever mentioning the impertinencies of Canonists, [a] some of whom teach, *The Pope hath power to excommunicate Angels*; or the Impieties of some [b] Divines who maintain, *he can establish any thing against the Law of God and Nature both*: What can be more amazing, then to hear the Popes speak themselves?

Nicholas the First, in his Letter to *Michael*, [c] saies, *That the Pious Emperor* Constantine, *had call'd the Pope God, and that 'tis evident God can be judged by no man.* This piece of madness his successors lik'd so well, that they made an express [d] Canon of it.

Boniface the Eighth defines in a [e] Decretal of his, *That all humane Creatures*

[a] *August. de Ancona, de potest. Eccl. c.* 18. *art.* 1. [b] *Bald. l. ult. de sent. rescinden.* [c] *In fine Tom.* 3. *Concil.* [d] *Canon satis evidenter.* [e] *In cap. unam Sanctam. excomm. de Maj. & obedient.*

are

are bound, neceſſitate ſalutis, *to ſubmit to him as to the King of kings, and both Spiritual and Temporal Lord over all the World.*

His ſucceſſor [e] pretends lawfully to diſpenſe with that which was contrary to the Apoſtles commands, *Bene diſpenſat Dominus Papa contra Apoſtolum. Let all the World know*, [f] ſaies *Gregory* the Seventh, out of an exceſs of modeſty and humility, *That we give and take away all Kingdoms, Empires, Principalities, and all Goods men are capable of poſſeſſing:*

VII.

Nor did theſe Servants of the Servants of God live any otherwiſe then they taught. There could no Crown in their times be aſſur'd upon the Head of any Prince, whatſoever Right, Birth, or Election had there eſtabliſhed it. And indeed, we would ſcarce believe the precedents of *Philip*, *Frederic*, *Lewis*, *&c.* had we not beheld in our own daies what *Leo* the Tenth, *Julius* the Third, and *Sextus* the Fifth had done. The public Records of *England*, *Germany*, and *France*, are fill'd up with their bold enterpriſes; the raiſing Subjects in rebellion againſt their natural Princes,

[e] *De renun. cap. poſt tranſl.* [f] *Plat. in Greg. 7.*

the

the absolving them from their Allegiance, the putting great Kingdoms into combustion, at once undermining them by civil Dissentions, and procuring them to be invaded by Foreign Enemies; the swearing Friendship with *Francis* the First, and at the same time helping *Charles* the Fifth to subvert him; and again, entertaining correspondence with *Charles* the Fifth, whilst he solicited *Francis* the First to war again, are part of the transactions of St. *Peters* Successors, the heads of the Church, and Vicars of Christ.

VIII.

But for their Covetousness, who is able to express it? Annats, expectative Graces, sacred Reservations, Preventions, Mandats; things abominable in all their parts, were call'd by them, *Pious artifices to maintain the Apostolic See.* That which in its own nature was properly a Crime, an Abomination, and a Simony, was turn'd into an holy action by a *Pasce oves meas*

IX.

All Friers who grew weary of being govern'd by their Bishops, and kept in the hardships of Penance, sent mony to *Rome*, where

where there was not a door in the Conclave but was open to their Gold. Great ſums to the Datary, prevail'd more then all their tears could have done. No Canons, no Councils, no Fathers, reſiſted their bribes. They purchaſ'd Priviledges, ſubſtracted themſelves from the Sacred Juriſdiction of their Biſhops: and tho the very Injunction of their new gain'd liberty, was a real Simony, a diſobedience, and an effect of the corruption of their hearts, yet the diſturbers of it were threatned in their [a] Bulls with St. *Peter* and St. *Pauls* indignation.

X.

But that his Holineſs, not ſatisfied with the oppreſſion of the Clergy, ſhould not ſpare the Lay-men neither, is above all imagination. The Records of the Parliament of *Paris*, ſpeak every where of the Popes oppreſſions. Sir *Roger Twiſden* hath writ an excellent account of the inſupportable Taxes *England* groan'd under; the natural piety and generoſity of the Engliſh inviting the Popes to abuſe it into an occaſion of leaving no limits to their Covetouſneſs. For *Germany*, and o-

[a] *Bull. Pont. ubique.*

ther Provinces, who in the World is unacquainted with their grievances? And is there any Roman Catholic, who if he consider things impartially, confesses not that *Leo* the Tenth was the cause of greater evils to the Church then *Luther*?

XI.

The Pope himself verified that word of the Prophet, *The Priests shall eat the sins of the people.* There was no crime which had not an Asylum at the Penitentiaries. The obscene Books of the Jesuits *Sanchez* and *Hurtado*, are purity it self, compared with the Book of the Apostolical Tax. All the Casuists together never taught the World so many crimes as this one profligate Book. We suppress it, because we would not offend the modesty of our Reader. There are no tongues or words pregnant enough to express so great an infamy: but yet to give some hint of it, let us hear the Popes Secretary, *Our sins*, saies he, *are raised to such an height, that we have scarce any hope of mercy left us. 'Twere a vain attemt to describe the greatness of the Priests covetousness, especially of them that govern. How unbounded is their ambition,*

[a] *Espenc. ibid.* [b] *Plat. in Marcel.*

bscenity,

Obscenity and luxury? How deep is their ignorance both of themselves and Christs doctrine also? How full is the little Piety they had left, of hypocrisie and dissimulation? and how instead of concealing the crimes they commit, do they affect rather to make them appear?

XII.

This then was the disease of the Roman Church: let us now examine whether the Council of *Trent* has truly reform'd so many abuses; whether it hath preserv'd the respect due to Princes, render'd the rights of Bishops inviolable, taken away the Simonies and Extortions of the Court of *Rome*; and whether Mr. *d'Espences* complains wrongfully, *Quod tot annis & tot annorum centenariis nil in ea emendatur.*

XIII.

As for Princes, the injuries which the preceding Popes had done them, were so far from being repaired, that *Julius* the Third was so bold as to excommunicate the Queen of *Navar*, give her Kingdom over to depredation, and confiscate her Goods.

XIV.

As for the Holy Father, they work out his reformation in a pleaſant manner. It is conſider'd as a Crime to ſpeak of reforming him, of ſearching into his wounds, or taking any account of his exceſſes. And when the Cardinals, hurried on by the force of truth, and the cries of all men, are oblig'd out of meer ſhame to propoſe the mending any abuſe, they alwaies add, *Salva tamen Apoſtolicæ ſedis autoritate.* So when plurality of Benefices is condemn'd, it is *Salva ſemper Apoſtolicæ ſedis autoritate*: when that intolerable abuſe of Diſpenſations is cut off, 'tis *ſalva ſemper ſedis Apoſtolicæ autoritate*: when any Penance is impoſed upon non-reſident Biſhops, 'tis *ſalva ſemper Apoſtolicæ ſedis autoritate*: when Friars are put again under the juriſdiction of their Ordinaries, and obedience to their Canons, 'tis *ſalva ſemper Apoſtolicæ ſedis autoritate*: that is to ſay, The autority of that Apoſtolic See, which has patroniz'd their firſt violation of the diſcipline, ſhal be at liberty to do it a ſecond time. They dare condemn no crimes, without impowring the Apoſtolic See to commit them over again.

gain. A Law, however juſt and neceſſary in it ſelf, cannot be enacted without leaving to the Apoſtolical See the liberty of infringing it. And thus they make of the Apoſtolical See, a ſanctuary and retreat for all diſorders.

XV.

Nothing is better known at *Rome*, then the lives of a great many Cardinals. Heaven and Earth are offended at their Pride. Their plurality of Benefices, Biſhoprics, and Abbies, is monſtrous. No ſecular Princes are attended with greater magnificence. Never had the moſt luxurious Heathens either Palaces ſo gloriouſly adorn'd, or Tables ſo delicatly furniſhed: and whatever we read of the Gardens of *Lucullus*, or the pleaſures of *Tempe*, is far ſhort of the luxury of their Country Houſes. Yet they are Clergy-men, that is, a ſort of people who not only vowed in their Baptiſm to renounce the World, but declar'd it alſo in their Ordination, *That the Lord was the lot of their inheritance*, and his Goſpel a commandment *to die and bury themſelves with him.*

Notwithſtanding, when their Reformation was ſpoken of in the Council, the Le-

Legats presently declar'd, that the Reformation ought not to extend unto their Eminencies; to which a Pious and Learned Bishop, more daring then the rest, moved to see Sacred Episcopacy so trampled upon by them, made answer, that *the most illustrious Cardinals, ought to have a most illustrious Reformation*, Illustrissimi Cardinales indigent illustrissima reformatione. But they are deaf to this voice of Heaven; and instead of sincerely advancing the Intereſt of the Gospel among themselves, to the end that the spring it self being purified, the stream might be so too, 200 Bishops and five Cardinals busie themselves in ordering the substistence of Franciscans, and shaping the habit of Nuns.

XVI.

Nothing is so certain as the shameful traffic of the Datary and Chancery; none but the wilfully blind can deny it to be a gulph which swallows up the riches of many Kingdoms, and sucks the purest Blood of the people. But they must first have renounc'd the Gospel and their own reason, who confess not, that it is a continual commerce of abominable Simony,

[1] Life of *Dom. Bartholmy des Martyrs.*

a vio-

a violating of the most Holy Canons, and a pernicious attemt upon the autority of Princes and Bishops. What Council in former Ages, what custom of the Church, what legitimate Title impowers the Popes to give Benefices of other Kingdoms? What new Gospel teaches him to raise vast sums upon the account of Spiritual matters? What right hath he over those Churches he hath never ministred unto? Which of the Fathers, or what Authors can he allege to maintain such usurpations? Nay, who in the latter times did not rise against such an execrable abuse, and spoke not to him in the words of a famous Emperor, *Cesset altaribus imminere profanus ardor avaritiæ, & sacris edytis repellatur piaculare flagitium?*

Yea, the Council very well saw all this; 'twas in the Diocess of all these Bishops, that so intolerable disorders spread their branches. The Canons of the Sacred Councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon* are set before their eies as so many eternal Witnesses of the Churches Spirit; but instead of following their rules, they wholly busie themselves in cutting off some small abuses, reforming of a Country Vicar; and for the rest, *Salva semper Apostolicæ sedis autoritate.*

Of

XVII.

Of all the different kinds of Simony the Court of *Rome* is guilty of, none is so certain and aver'd, as the *Annats*. *Boniface* the Eighth, and *John* the Twenty second, invented them; two Popes, *Baronius* stiles Monsters. The Council of [b] *Basil* prohibited them under pain of Excommunication; and because the Fathers were inform'd that they came from no other source then the Pope, who by *Pasce oves meas*, Joh. 4. 6. makes all crimes lawful, they add those so remarkable words, *That if the Bishop of* Rome, *who more then any other, ought to observe and execute the Canons of the Councils, comes to scandalize the Church, attempting any thing against such a prohibition, let him be proceeded against by a General Council.*

The most considerable Authors of the Church of *Rome*, both for Learning and Piety, complain most bitterly of this. The Faculty of *Sorbon* calls it, not only a Crime, but an Heresy. *Paul* the Third his Counsellors, who had bin first obliged under pain of Excommunication to declare the truth (that being necessary to

[a] *Plat. in Bonif.* [b] *Conc. Basil. Sess.* 21.

make

make truth reach the Pope) ſpake after the ſame rate.

Nevertheleſs, *The ſacred, holy, and œcumenical Council met at* Trent, *in the name of the Holy Ghoſt, to be rul'd there by the word of God, the writings of the Fathers, and the Apoſtolical Tradition,* thinks not fit to take away the Annats. The Holy Ghoſt juſt goes ſo far as to correct ſmall abuſes, frivolous nothings, but reaches not to Hereſies and Crimes; *Salva ſemper Apoſtolicæ ſedis autoritate.* There is not in ſo vaſt a number of Biſhops one ſingle *Nathan*, or *Elijah*; or if it be too much to ſeek Prophets among them, there is not a ſingle *Ambroſe* or *Baſil*; none of all theſe Vicars of Chriſt, who durſt ſay with his Maſter, *Our friend ſleepeth, but I go that I may make him out of ſleep*, Joh. 11. 11.

XVIII.

And indeed it would have bin a kind of murder to have cut off *Annats*. *Rome* would have bin no more a triumphant City, all its Palaces would have bin either pull'd down, or interrupted in the building; and eſpecially that of *Pius* the Fourth, rais'd during the Council, of

which the Arch-Bishop of [1] *Brague* told him, *That the stones would have serv'd better to build an Hospital.*

To banish Painters, Musicians, Poets, from St. *Peters* See: to make a Pope in our daies live like S. *Leo* or S. *Gregory*: to rule a Cardinal nephew according to the Council of *Carthage*, and the examples of S. *Charles*: to require the same severity of life from an *eminentissimo Cardinale*, as we saw in Cardinal *Baronius*, and some years ago in Cardinal *Bona*: Such demands, I say, would have brought a blemish upon the Council never to be obliterated; and instead of procuring its confirmation, fir'd upon them all the *Vatican* thunders. How could a Cardinal undergo the hardship of riding, without a retinue of 20 Coaches, and an infinite number of stableries? In the Apostles time, the most common Motto was, *The world is crucified to me, and I to the world*, Gal. 6.14. Priests then had no other liveries then the blood of Martyrs, no other retinue then a vast number of poor, no other Palaces then Prisons; but in our Age, you cannot walk in the streets of *Rome* without hearing People cry out, *The equipage of his E-*

[1] Life of *Dom. Barth. des Martyrs.*

minence,

minence, the Mules of his Eminence, the ſtaffieries of his Eminence, the perfumes of his Eminence, the Muſic of his Eminence, the Abbies and Biſhopricks of his Eminence, &c. that is, of a Deacon in the Dioceſs of *Rome*, of a Parſon in the City or Suburbs, of a man maintain'd by the alms of the Church, dead to the World and its vanities, perſwaded that there is a life to come, and that the ſhorteſt way to enjoy its happineſs, is to renounce all the pleaſures and honors of the preſent.

XIX.

The Fathers therefore at *Trent* were not cruel to the Pope, nor *Pius* the Fourth ungrateful to them. He confeſs'd in a full Conclave, *They had us'd him more gently then he would have done himſelf*: and that Council, which otherwiſe had paſs'd for a Conventicle, became ſo ſacred, that this Pope never ſpake afterwards without an honorable mention of it in all his diſcourſes. But this Popes own confeſſion is too puiſſant a proof againſt him, 'tis the teſtimony of his own Conſcience. Thoſe Phyſitians flatter'd ſo much their Patient, that he was aſham'd of it, and inſtead of applying powerful Remedies to

his inveterate Diſtempers, they took no notice of them. 'Tis wrongfully therefore they accuſe the Popes ſelf-love, or the blindneſs incident to thoſe *who ſeparate themſelves from unity to conſtitute a particular order*, as ſpeaks St. *Gregory* and St. *Auſtin*.

Pius the Fourth was convinc'd of the need he ſtood in of being reform'd. But the Fathers put a bar to his deſires, *huc uſque venies*; without them he would have gone further.

XX.

Nay, leaſt the ſmall Reformation they made of ſome few things, ſhould laſt too long, they found out an expedient from which experience ſhew'd, the ſucceſs of the whole was expected; and this was the liberty left to the Pope, of diſpenſing with all the Ordinances of the Council. That only favor deſerv'd all Pope *Pius*'s acknowledgments: he and his ſucceſſors made ſo good uſe of it, that it will not be amiſs to give ſome examples thereof.

It had bin obſerv'd for many Ages, how much the exemtions of *Friars* were injurious to Epiſcopacy, and ſcandalous to the Church; wherefore the Council cuts them off,

off: but *Pius* the Fourth using his power of dispensing, re-establishes them with greater autority then before, so that there has bin scarce any Bishop since, zealous of his duty and the honor of his Divine Character, whom a pitiful Friar, whether more fraught with boldness or ignorance, I shall not determine, arm'd *cap a pied* with his privileges, durst not impudently oppose.

Some abuses concerning Dispensations, Expeditions for Benefices, and other pretended favors of the Apostolical See were remov'd; the Pope *uses his right of dispensation*, and scarce had the *Trent* Fathers got home from reforming them, before *Pius* the Fourth had again brought up all those Impieties.

XXI.

The Council had [a] handled the matter of Indulgences with as great dexterity as moderation, and in its Decree not one of the following Propositions, which the Friars have since bandied about with so violent heat, is to be seen.

1. That Indulgences are authoriz'd by the Scripture.

[a] *Sess.* 25.

2. That

2. That they are granted and receiv'd for the dead.
3. That they are a ſuper-abundance of the merits of the Saints.
4. That they are any thing elſe but a relaxation of Canonical Penance, accorded only to thoſe *who pray, who demand, who work*, [a] petenti, operanti, roganti.
5. That the Pope has greater power to grant them, then any particular Biſhop.

No man had reaſon to complain of ſo wiſe and moderate a Decree; but the Pope *uſes his right of diſpenſing*, too many People being intereſſed in keeping Indulgencies. The *Vatican* magnificence, the ſoftneſs of the Cardinals, and the Friars idleneſs, ow'd their maintenance to that ſolid and clear Revenue. You ſee therefore Bulls both for the living and the dead, diſpers'd into all parts of the World; every Church hath its priviledg'd Altars, and a thouſand Books are made public, moſt of them dedicated to the Pope, and approv'd by the Inquiſition, wherein they are call'd Heretics and Atheiſts, who oppoſe the Opinions

[a] *Cyprianus de lapſis.*

which

which the Council hath left undeter-min'd.

The ſtile of theſe Bulls is as extraordinary as their matter; the Popes grant *two, four, ſix, or ſeven thouſand years of true pardon* (and indeed the word *true* looks very pleaſantly in that place;) he remits not only the pain due to ſin, but *the ſin alſo into the bargain*; ſomtimes to make the moſt on't he divides it, and pardons but a *third part*; ſomtimes *one half*; ſomtimes *all*, juſt as his Holineſs is in humor. And that we may not tire our ſelves with too much pains, in getting ſo precious and rare a favor as the pardon of our ſins, a man moſt deeply engag'd in the love of the World, moſt buried in all its pleaſures, the moſt taken with its glory, one that is a public ſinner, guilty of all the exceſſes which libertiniſm or atheiſm are able to inſpire; ſuch an one as this muſt be excuſ'd from too much troubling himſelf. The bearing of a Medal, bowing to a Saint, walking to ſuch a Church, or the like, will waſh him whiter then ſnow, and preſently render him as innocent in the eyes of God as the beſt of them, who think it worth their while to *work out their ſalvation with fear and trembling*,

bling, Phil. 2. 12. who are at the trouble of mortifying in themſelves the body of ſin by an incredible perſeverance, by continual Faſting, Praiers, and Alms, that they may *preſent their bodies a living ſacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God*, Rom. 10. 1.

XXII.

Thus the power of Diſpenſing opens the door to infinite ſcandals. But the Pope was impowr'd to do what he would, the Council [a] granting him that which he could never hope for, *viz.* the aſſertion of his *infallibility, and pre-eminence above general Councils*: two Opinions that had never bin heard of for 14 Ages, and were ſcarce brought forth into the World, but all learned and pious Men oppoſed them, the 400 Biſhops at *Baſil*, and the famous *Sorbon*, ſtiling them *pernicious Hereſies*; but the Fathers of *Trent*, being afraid to contradict openly ſo conſiderable an authority, and yet deſirous to have their intent, dealt after a moſt pleaſant manner, they take away theſe two words, *Infallibility* and *Superiority*, but preſerve carefully the thing.

[a] *Locus ſupra citat.*

1. The

1. The Council declares, the Church of *Rome* is Mother and Miſtreſs of all Churches.

2. The Council affects to ſtick at many matters, and remits their deciſion to the Popes judgment.

Now what man of ſenſe is there, who would not draw theſe two Conſequences?

1. The Church of *Rome* being Mother of all Churches in the World, and a general Council being compos'd but of particular Churches; the Pope being Biſhop of *Rome*, is therefore Father and Maſter of all Biſhops & Councils.

2. There is Infallibility in the Church: this muſt either be in the Pope or in the Council; not in the laſt, ſince the Council cannot and dares not give their Opinion in many and weighty matters: therefore in the firſt, whoſe Church is Miſtreſs and Mother of all Chriſtian Churches in the World, and whoſe ſentence an œcumenical Council ſubmits unto, as to an Oracle, which muſt fix its uncertainty.

But the ſame man ſhould, with their good leave, to theſe conſequences add a third, which is,

3. That the faculty of *Sorbon* is Heretical. The Learned *Gerſon*, Chancellor of *Paris*, is an Heretic. The 400 Biſhops at *Baſil* are Heretics. Pope *Pius* the Second an Heretic. *Martin* the Fifth an Heretic. And generally all the Learned Men of the Church for theſe 200 years are Heretics, for they allcall that Doctrine of Infallibility and Superiority, a *pernicious Hereſie*.

XXIII.

Theſe two Points, Infallibility and Superiority, being once ſtated, what reformation could be expected in the Church. If the Pope be infallible, What an inſolent boldneſs is it to ſubject him to other rules then his own? And if the Church of *Rome* be Miſtreſs and Mother of all Churches, What right have theſe Churches to give Laws inſtead of receiving them from her? And therefore I cannot ſufficiently admire how the author of the Conſiderations upon the Council of *Trent*, durſt aſſert, *That the Pope had bin ill uſ'd at* Trent, and nothing was ſaid of his Supremacy. We leave it to all perſons to judg of the truth of this Aſſertion,

we can only ſay, That the Authors who had written till then with the greateſt ardor to promote the Apoſtolical Grandeur, had never given her the ambitious qualifications of *Mother and Miſtreſs*; nay, they were ſo far from raiſing the Pope above Councils, that they call ſuch a Doctrine a *Schiſm and an Hereſie*.

XXIV.

But as if Infallibility and Superiority were not enough, the Council adds a third, a Vow of *true obedience*. The word *true obedience*, is no leſs pleaſant then the *true pardon of ſins*. The Court of *Rome* is ſo uſ'd to equivocations and ambiguities, that her fears appear in her own Decrees.

All Chriſtians therefore, whether Clergy or Laity, are tied up, or rather ſacrificed to the Pope by a ſolemn Oath; ſo as let him be as much *Arian* as *Liberius*, as much a *Monothelite* as *Honorius*, as unlearned as *Celeſtine* the Fourth, as Simoniacal as *John* the Twenty ſecond, as unclean as *Alexander* the Sixth; let him be as inſolent towards Kings, as *Hildebrand* to *Frederic*, *Boniface* to *Philip Auguſt*, *Innocent* to *John* King of *England*, *Leo* the Tenth to *Henry* the Eighth, *Julius* the

Third to the Queen of *Navar*, yet he cannot be resisted; 'tis not lawful to disobey *the Father and Master of all Churches*, to believe him in the wrong, whose judgment is above all Councils, and to oppose him to whom you are sworn upon the four Gospels.

XXV.

These reasons occasion'd the doleful complaint of Monsieur [a] *d'Espences*, then present at the Council, who saies openly, *That the Church is in a more desperate condition then before, and that by reason of the Italian Bishops*, whom he calls the *Helens* which triumph'd at *Trent*, *there is no hope to cure her wounds.*

Gentianus Hervæus, Doctor in [b] *Sorbon* also, and present at the Council, speaks after the same rate, and differs only from the others, in that he ascribes all the miscarriages of the Council to *Lainez* and *Salmero*, both Jesuits.

[c] *Julius Sanelius* being return'd from *Trent*, whether he had bin brought by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, gave an account

[a] *Espenc. loc. cit.* [b] A Letter of his was translated into French, in the contestation between the Jesuits and the Disciples of St. *Austin*, Printed at *Paris*, 1665.
[c] *Thuani Hist. Conc. Trid. p. ult.*

of

of that Aſſembly in theſe terms, *That in the Council of the Apoſtles it had bin ſaid,* Viſum eſt ſpiritui ſancto & nobis, *it ſeem'd good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us;* but in that of *Trent,* Plus nobis quam Spiritui ſancto, *more to us then to the Holy Ghoſt.*

It appears therefore, that the pretended Reformation of the Pope and Court of *Rome* is a meer Chimera; nor is it an harder matter to evidence, that the Reformation of the Church is a meer diſorder. It may be ſaid, and very truly, that the ſins which Lay-men lie under, have no other ſource then the bad examples of the Clergy; and we may learn both from profane Writings and Divine, from Hiſtorians as well as Prophets, that the good or bad life of Prieſts hath ever had an unſpeakable influence on mankind. But 'tis another truth no leſs certain, that if the ſins of the people come from the Prieſts, thoſe of the Prieſts ſpring from the Biſhops: this being a daily experiment, that as the Clergy is holy when it is govern'd by Saints, ſo it becomes abominable to God, when the life of its head does not anſwer the duties and excellency of his dignity. The ſhorteſt way therefore to reform the Church, was ſe-

rioufly

riously to reform the Bishops.

But instead of reforming the Episcopal Order, the Fathers of *Trent* gave it two mortal wounds.

1. To declare Bishops in many cases the Popes Delegates.
2. To leave the question of their residence and jurisdiction undecided.

1. The first of these two things brings Episcopacy unto a strange abatement, renders the Pope master of all Bishops Jurisdictions, breaks all ancient Canons, runs down the interests of all Princes, encroaches upon the Rights and Liberties of Churches, gives the Bishops a quality unworthy the successors of the Apostles, and forces them to receive that as a borrowed and begg'd privilege which belongs naturally to them.

The second, causes Episcopacy to be look'd upon as a meer humane employment, or Civil Magistracy. Such a Bishop could never have the confidence to say with the Apostle, *2 Cor. 13. 3. Do you seek a proof of Christs speaking in me?* Nay, he would no more value his sacred character, then one of the Kings officers do his, and regard the duties of his Divine calling, rather as rules instituted for decency

cency, then as unchangeable obligations, ſo ſtrictly requir'd from him, that without them he has no hope of ſalvation.

XXVI.

Juriſdiction is no leſs eſſential to Epiſcopacy, then the power of ordaining Miniſters; a propoſition we could eaſily demonſtrate to be unanſwerable, would it not render this Diſcourſe too big; and had it not bin already done by a learned hand, againſt the infamous Doctrine of both Engliſh and French Jeſuits. (*For Jeſuits are every where the ſame.*) Ordination and Juriſdiction are ſo twiſted together, that they cannot be divided without their mutual deſtruction. Biſhops receive both from the ſame hand, and are no leſs inſtituted by Chriſt in the Church to govern it, then to continue the ſucceſſion of the Governors.

XXVII.

Nay, may it not be affirm'd, that Juriſdiction is both as eſſential to Epiſcopacy, & as neceſſary to the Church as Ordination. For the Church being, as St. *Paul* ſaies, *a body, i. e.* a ſociety conſiſting of Rulers,

[a] *Petrus Aurelius.*

and

and others ſubmitted to them, without Juriſdiction it can no more be ſuch a ſociety, then without Ordination thoſe rulers can be continued. Therefore as no Biſhop ordains in the Catholic Church, as the Popes, or any other Patriarchs delegate, but by the fulneſs of power he receives from Chriſt, ſo no Biſhop exerciſes any act of Juriſdiction by any delegation, but by that power he is inveſted with as Biſhop, ſucceſſor of the Apoſtles, and Vicar of Chriſt.

A Biſhop that acts or believes otherwiſe betraies that dignity intruſted to him by Chriſt, which he ought to maintain to the laſt drop of his blood.

XXVIII.

Nor pretend we thereby to ſay that ſuch a Juriſdiction may be exerciſ'd in every place, and over all perſons; the partition of Dioceſes ſhews the extraordinary wiſdom of Councils and Princes. Nor may any one tranſgreſs the limits they have put among Biſhops, without declaring himſelf an enemy to all diſcipline. Now all the following Propoſitions are certainly true, at leaſt to all admirers of former times, whom I take to be in *Eng-*

land

England in a greater number then elſewhere.

1. That no man, or no part of a Dioceſs, can be ſubſtracted from a Biſhops Juriſdiction, but by the autority of a Prince or Council.
2. That no man can be ſubſtracted from the Juriſdiction of his Biſhop, without being put at the ſame time under another.
3. That however a Biſhop deals with any man, either ſubſtracted from his Juriſdiction or added to it, 'tis alwaies of himſelf, and by the power he receiv'd from Chriſt.
4. That the exemtions of Friars and Monks, are a Schiſm rais'd by the Popes.
5. That the name of the Popes Delegates (in its moſt favorable ſenſe) given to the Biſhops in things which belong to them, is *plenojure*, and by all Laws a moſt ſhameful injury to the Epiſcopal order.
6. That *nemo eſt qui non perhorreſcat*, to uſe the words of a Learned[a] Doctor of *Sorbon*, at the ſpeech of the *Jeſuit Lainez* in the Council of

[a] *Gentian Hervæus, loc. citat.*

Trent, That all the power of Juriſdiction hath bin by Chriſt conferr'd on the Biſhop of Rome, *ſo that the Juriſdiction of Biſhops is not fundamental but deriv'd.*

XXIX.

Now concerning the divine right of Epiſcopacy, the Fathers of *Trent* committed two great faults: the one to bring it into queſtion, and the other to leave it undecided. As for the firſt, it had bin receiv'd in the Church for fourteen ages taught by the Fathers, embraced by their Diſciples, and only impugn'd by the Italian Canoniſts. For the ſecond, ſuch an indeciſion is a ground for any man in the Church of *Rome* to deny, doubt of, and contradict the inſtitution of Biſhops; theſe three things being the nature of all undecided points. So a man may maintain there is no government at all in the Church, and conſequently no Church, ſince it does not appear that Chriſt hath inſtituted any other then Epiſcopacy: and certainly to find any other, the Scripture muſt be ſtrain'd in many places, & the conſtant, univerſal, and never oppoſ'd practice of fourteen hundred years be impudently contradicted.

But

XXX.

But what is moſt pleaſant in this Indeciſion,* is, that the Pope has verifi'd the word of the Prophet, *Pſal. 35. 8. Let the net that he hath hid catch himſelf*, for all theſe following conſequences flow from it.

1. That the Holy Father is no Pope by divine right, *Jure divino*, for the Popedom being nothing elſe but an extenſion of Epiſcopacy, he is no Pope but becauſe he is Biſhop. No Divine durſt yet advance any other opinion.

But the Epiſcopacy of the Holy Father is not different from that of other Biſhops, being in all reſpects of the ſame kind, *Epiſcopatus unus eſt*. And the Italians, who are ſo abundant in novelties, when they undertake to raiſe up the credit of their Maſter, have bin dumb in this matter.

Therefore if the Popes Epiſcopacy is not *Jure divino*, his Papacy is not ſo neither, ſince one is engrafted upon the other; and if the Holy Father is not Pope *Jure divino*, what ground can be laid for the ambition and uſurpation of

* *Cypr. de Unit. Eccl.*

the Apoſtolical See? What ſhall we do with the fine and rare Doctrine of Infallibility.

2. The Council has impoſ'd the belief of its new Decree upon all Chriſtians, under pain of eternal damnation; but if they are only Miniſters from the Church, and not from Chriſt, with what eies ſhall we conſider ſo ſtupendious a boldneſs? Who hath impowr'd a company of men to make Decrees of divine Faith? And how, without being authoriz'd by God, did they exact an obedience only due to Miniſters ſent from Heaven?

3. 'Tis a crime in a Roman Catholic to believe the Council of *Trent* did not lawfully what it did, otherwiſe ſuch a meeting is a dream and a chimera. But who is that Roman Catholic of any ſenſe, who can be perſwaded of it, ſeeing 'tis allow'd in the Church of *Rome* to deny any of thoſe Biſhops had the leaſt autority from God to do what they did.

XXXI.

And indeed who will not wonder the Fathers of *Trent* ſo peremtorily give their verdict of things they confeſs not grounded upon Scripture, and which were controverted

verted for many Ages, as *Images*, *Praiers to the Saints*, *Indulgencies*, *&c.* and leave undecided a point ſo evident in Scripture, and ſo conſtant in Tradition.

XXXII.

It highly therefore concerns the truth, to find out the myſtery why they were ſo obſtinate at *Rome* in an undeciſion ſo extremely pernicious to the whole Catholic Church, to that of *Rome* in particular, and to the Pope himſelf.

The trueſt cauſe is the pride of the *Eminentiſſimi Cardinali*. They were uſed long ſince to trample on the necks of Biſhops, and to keep them in quality of their Secretaries, or Stewards. An enormity proceeding from the poverty, weakneſs, and ſad condition of the Italian Prelates. A Biſhop, to gain reſpect, needed to be privy to the pleaſures or deſigns of the Cardinal. At Pope *Pius* the Fourths Counſel, Biſhops ſtood bare-headed, whilſt *gli Eminentiſſimi* ſat, and were covered. And by a diſorder no where to be found but at *Rome*, a gray hair'd Biſhop, or Arch-biſhop exhauſted with auſterities, and conſiderable for ſervices done the Church, was ſeen at the feet of a young

a young, powdered, perfumed Cardinal, puft up with pride, ſoftned by wantonneſs; and in a word, whoſe Eminency had uſually nothing more eminent then moſt eminent vices.

XXXIII.

'Twas then impoſſible to ſpeak in the Council of the Biſhops Inſtitution, without putting Cardinals in mind of theirs: one is ſo ancient and divine, the other ſo new and humane, that the very thoughts of them could not chuſe but make Cardinals aſham'd.

For if they conſider their dignity as Spiritual, they are only Prieſts or Deacons, ſubmitted for that very reaſon to their Biſhops, and without power of voting in Councils.

Or if they conſider it as a temporal honor, they have nothing to do with the affairs of the Church. They are in the order of the ſheep, not of the Shepherd, and inſtead of being ſo proud as to ambition ſpeaking and ruling in Councils, muſt beg with a profound humility to hear and be ruled.

Or at laſt, if they are in a middle ſtate, as a Jeſuit (a man of a middle ſtate alſo, as

as fit as the reſt of his company to unite great extremes) deſcribes them, they ought to fear the condemnation Chriſt has interminated to thoſe *who ſerve two maſters.*

And thus it was of a very high concernment for Cardinals to leave a queſtion undecided, which would have reſtored them to their ancient condition, and done juſtice to the ſacred character of Biſhops. How dangerous ſoever ſeemed the conſequences of ſuch undeciſion, they followed the Italian maxim, *To keep the preſent uſurpations at the price of the moſt equitable Laws.*

XXXIV.

Nor were they leſs intereſs'd at the queſtion of Reſidency. For if the deciſion of the divine inſtitution of Biſhops deſtroied their honors, that of reſidency finiſhed their pleaſures, ſent them to their Dioceſs, and cut off the ſweet and luxurious life of *Rome.*

Nevertheleſs, it was required by the Spaniſh and French Biſhops, that Reſidency ſhould be declared *Jure divino.* Of all Chriſtian Truths, none is ſo powerfully expreſſed in the Scripture, ſo conformable

able to good ſenſe, ſo inculcated to us by the Writings and Examples of the Fathers.

Nay, without gathering a thouſand teſtimonies from all parts of the Scripture, let us only ſay to the Biſhops what Saint *Jerome* ſaies to *Nepotian*, *Interrogent nomen ſuum*, and no doubt 'tis enough to perſwade them.

There is none of theſe Biſhops abſent from their Dioceſes, who dares read without fear that parable of the Goſpel, wherein Chriſt calls himſelf the *good Shepherd*, expreſſes in a ſtile full of love, that he takes all imaginable care for hindering them from *going aſtray*; that he has a voice whereby his ſheep *know him*, and diſcern him from *foreigners*, or *mercenaries*; and, what is more, that he has a life to ſpend for ſaving them from death.

XXXV.

Now Biſhops are in the Church to repreſent Chriſt to the life, either becauſe he has committed to their care the government of his people, or becauſe they ſucceed the Apoſtles who are his witneſſes. A Biſhop that wants a watchful care to look after his ſheep, a voice to call them;

them, and above all, a life to loſe for their ſakes, *is a thief, that comes not but to ſteal, to kill, and to deſtroy.*

This great duty gave occaſion to the Fathers to call Biſhops, *Sponſos Eccleſiarum ſuarum*, the Bride-grooms of their Churches. Thence they drew theſe important concluſions.

1. That the polygamy of Dioceſes is no more lawful to a Biſhop, then polygamy of Wives to a Chriſtian.

2. That as in a Chriſtian Marriage, a husband muſt be entirely to his wife, concenter in her all his deſires, and love her after God above all the world; ſo a Biſhop that is tyed to the Church, muſt baniſh all other thoughts, then to live and die in her boſom.

3. That as we learn from the ſublime Divinity of the Apoſtle, that Chriſt loved entirely his Church, never abandoned her, died for her, and remains with her till the end of the world; ſo a Biſhop muſt be jealous of the Church Chriſt has entruſted him with, watch continually for her; and becauſe ſhe lies in the midſt of a thouſand enemies, perſevere in her defence till his laſt breath.

XXXVI.

We need but read St. *Pauls* Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, to ſee the Diſciple Preaching as he had bin taught by his Maſter. All thoſe great qualities he requires in a Biſhop, that *irreprehenſible life*, that *exact watchfulneſs*, that *ſound doctrine*, that *incredible patience in exhorting*, that *prudent behavior* amongſt ſo many different ſorts of people, old men, youths, widows and virgins, have no other foundation but reſidency.

And the Fathers were ſo throughly convinc'd of this duty, that when they ſpeak of Epiſcopacy, they ſtile it *a burden dreadful to the ſhoulders of angels themſelves, a long and tedious death, a ſource of infinite cares and ſolicitudes*; all which expreſſions are meer mockeries, if they did not ſuppoſe reſidency *Jure divino*.

Their examples are more preſſing then their precepts. And St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Auſtin*, and Pope St. *Gregory*, did actions anſwering to, and ſurpaſſing their words.

Nay, God has not permitted the Church of *Rome* it ſelf, in the darkneſs of its incredulity, to be deſtituted of ſuch precedents. St. *Charles*, nephew to Pope *Pius*

Pius the Fourth, retir'd to his See, maugre all the intreaties of his uncle. Cardinal *Bellarmin*, the Popes great adorer, would never accept of a diſpenſation profer'd to him for *non reſiding*; and he has left us an excellent Letter to a nephew of his, wherein we may ſee that tho Jeſuit and Cardinal, he could never be induced by the Pope himſelf to betray his conſcience.

XXXVII.

But the Cardinals preſiding at *Trent*, and the *Italian* Biſhops did not care very much to ſhake the very principles of Religion, and ſo recur to the ſofteſt interpretations of Caſuiſts. The firſt foreſaw, that if reſidency be declared of Divine Right, there would be no pretence or excuſe at all to live at *Rome*. The loſs of *Rome* for a Cardinal is no ſmall ſacrifice; and there is a great difference between theſe two, to lie conceal'd in his Dioceſs, and to ſhine in a Court known to be the moſt proud, rich, and voluptuous in the World.

The ſecond ſhould have hazarded too much in ſtriving againſt the Cardinals. They lived in their families, *eat the crumbs*

which fall from their tables, and made a part of their retinue. Thoſe of them who were leſs deſpiſ'd, had alſo more ambition: they aim'd at Cardinalſhip; and Reſidency was the neareſt way to be depriv'd of it. They forgat therefore that they were Biſhops, and choſe rather to betray their character, then leave their pretences and pleaſures.

XXXVIII.

What then has the Council done in its ſo much boaſted of Reformation? Great things indeed.

Thoſe *two hundred Biſhops that had bin five and twenty years before they could meet, and eighteen after they had met*, anſwer'd perfectly the expectation of all Chriſtendom.

1. They have forbidden Praiers in a known Tongue.

2. Ruled the Church-wardens.

3. Ordained, that Friars could not vow but being ſixteen years old.

4. Approv'd the Jeſuits's order, that is, ſtrengthn'd the enemies of Chriſt.

5. Shaped an Index expurgatory, as barbarous in its form as in its name.

6. Eſtabliſh'd Inquiſition, a new tribunal

bunal which may be properly call'd, the eleventh perſecution of the Church.

XXXIX.

But to ſpeak ſeriouſly, we muſt ſay with Mr. *D'Eſpences*, and the moſt conſiderable men of the Roman Communion.

1. They have encroached upon the liberties of all Churches.

2. Rais'd the Popes power, and brought Epiſcopacy to nothing.

3. Cut off all hopes of Reformation, and canoniz'd all the vices of *Rome*.

4. Made breaches in the Diſcipline which ſhall never be made up; and induc'd thoſe who have ſome knowledge of the ancient Canons, to ask them in Saint *Auſtin's* words, *Curare eſt hoc, an occidere? Levare de terra, an præcipitare de cælo?*

A Con-

A

CONCLUSION

Of the foregoing Diſcourſes,

Concerning the State of the Church of England, *and how ſhe hath bin more ſucceſsful in the reformation of her Faith and manners, then the Church of* Rome.

I.

THE *Anglican* Church is not any private Society, but a part of that body which, as the Scriptures tell us, is ſpread over the face of the whole Earth. Her intent is only to be a member of the Catholic Church, from whoſe Spirit ſhe receives life, and governs her ſelf by her laws. She do's no leſs abhor Hereſie and Schiſm, then the Roman ſeems to do; only ſhe do's not attribute that name to all perſons and things, but knowing truth and charity

rity to be the moſt precious gifts, the holy Jeſus purchas'd by his death, ſhe is the leſs eaſily mov'd to accuſe any of forſaking them.

II.

Her extent, greatneſs and prudence, with the moderation of her conduct, hath alwaies made her ſeem the main and moſt conſiderable body of the Proteſtants; and hence ariſes that ardent zeal of the See of *Rome*, either to recover or to deſtroy her: hence proceed ſo many artifices to tempt and draw away the Children of this holy mother, that for theſe hundred years its emiſſaries have labour'd to raiſe new Churches within her. But he who commands the winds, and impoſes ſilence to the Seas, will ſuffer no tempeſt to ariſe within her breaſt, unleſs it be to render her the more glorious. She hath alwaies liv'd in unity, catholiciſm, and which is the ſpring of them both in that holineſs which God requires.

III.

Neither *Calvin* nor *Luther* were the authors, or reformers of her Faith, nor do's ſhe look upon them any otherwiſe then

then the Church of *Rome* do's upon *Baronius* or *Bellarmine*. She indeed conſiders them as great writers; but yet as men on whoſe words ſhe founds no part of her Creed. The [a] word of the Prophets, the Goſpel, and writings of the Apoſtles are her laws. God having ſpoken ſo clearly and plainly, ſhe looks for no other inſtructions then his word; and according to that ſhe being a national and independent Church, and conſequently having juſt authority, did reform her ſelf.

IV.

The reverence ſhe hath for the Scriptures carries her neither to Enthuſiaſm, nor a private Spirit. She [b] explains not the word of God by any humane expoſition. *She knows there is nothing ſo difficult in one part of the Scripture which is not plainly illuſtrated by another more eaſy.* She therefore compares the one with the other; as did the Fathers in former Ages. She ſeeks the will of God, by the light God himſelf hath given; and knowing that he cannot and will not deceive her, ſhe relies upon and wholly delivers her ſelf up to his care and conduct.

[a] *Art.* 6. [b] *Art.* 20. [c] *St. Auguſt.*

She acknowledgeth no other Infallibility then his. She knows all men are ſubject to error and falſhood; and the greateſt Saints themſelves may truly ſay, a *If we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the truth is not in us.*

V.

The Church of *Rome* flatters her ſelf with an Infallibility which ſhe can reduce to no certain principal. The Pope aſſumes it to himſelf, as if he were the only ſource of it, and the *Italians* call all other opinions Hereſie. The reſt of her communion attribute it to a General Council, and anathematize all thoſe who think the contrary. So that this Infallibility is reduc'd to that, as to prove either the Pope or Council to be in Hereſy. The Church of *England* cuts off ſuch an abominable diviſion. She acknowledgeth the power of God and the infirmity of man, the eternal and eſſential truth of the one, and the falſehood the other is ſubject to. She hears with trembling the word of the Apoſtle, *Let him that glories, glory in the Lord*: ſhe therefore gives the glory to God, and in this life ſhe looks upon Gods

a 1 *John* 1. 8.

word

word as the pillar of Fire, which led the Children of Iſrael thro the deſert, and never forſaked them in ſo many intricate marches.

VI.

If the Catholic Church hath not err'd, at leaſt in fundamentals, tis not by reaſon of any promiſe of Infallibility which God hath accorded to men; but becauſe that he being a God of mercy, has had in all times ſome faithful ſervants, whom he made acquainted with his waies, and who have walked according to his word. The gates of Hell have not prevail'd againſt them, becauſe they were fill'd with that charity, which triumphs over both viſible and inviſible Enemies.

And God having reſolved in the decrees of[a] charity (which the Scripture teacheth us he hath lov'd the Church by) to be ſerved *in ſpirit and truth* to the end of the World, he hath not permitted his word to be taken away from her, how bloody ſoever the perſecution of Martyrs has bin; how blind ſoever the ignorance was, in which many ages had bin involved; how terrible ſoever the corruption

[a] *Jer.* 31. 3.

appear'd, in which we see the World every day plunge it self.

VII.

The holy Church of *England* stops not that Fountain, out of which [a] waters flow to life Eternal. The Word of God being the foundation of our happiness, and the key of the World to come, she permits all People, perswades, exhorts, and commands all ages, all conditions and qualities to peruse it.

St. *Chrysostome* was of opinion, that all Merchants and men of affairs, who had not zeal enough to read the Old Testament, should at least read the new. St. *Jerome* prescrib'd to many Ladies of quality, the manner of teaching it their Daughters. St. *Austine* in his Sermons declares to his People, that the multitude of their sins proceeded from their neglect of the Scriptures.

God having resolv'd in process of time to accomplish the great work of Predestination in his Elect by his word; to neglect the reading of it, would be to reckon himself excluded of that blessed tribe. The Church of *England* follows

[a] *John* 3.

that

that opinion. Her Biſhops are not contented with inſtituting it in their Synods, and the Preiſts preaching it in their Churches, but the Holy Ghoſt being of all Nations, and languages, it has bin their buſineſs ſo juſtly to tranſlate it, as the moſt ignorant can make uſe of it: and ſo all the World may equally have this great treaſure; for it is folly for any one to perſwade themſelves, that it is only open to the learned. There needs no ſcience, but much humility and Faith towards God, for the knowing this truth of Salvation. Let a Man have learning without humility, the moſt ignorant perſon underſtands better then he do's. Men teach the mind and corrupt it, but God inſtructs the heart and it is converted.

VIII.

But becauſe it is eaſy for our reaſon to be ſeduc'd, and nothing is worſe for any Man, then to abandon himſelf to his own ſenſe; the Biſhops order their Curats, to look back on the former ages, to get the explication of the Scriptures from the holy Fathers, to hearken to the Church in her Councils, and never to fall from

[a] *Can. de Concio. § Concionat. An.* 1571.

her

her interpretations and ordinances.

The Church of *Rome* runs into one extremity, and ſome authors to another; the former ſo look on the Fathers as to equal their authority with that of God; the others under pretence of hearing God, hear no body, and treat thoſe holy Saints and *Auguſt* Councils with ſuch contempt, as merits a thouſand Hells.

The holy Church of *England* keeps her ſelf in an exact mean. She rejects, condemns, and trembles at the folly, pride and ignorance of thoſe unhappy wretches, before whoſe eies the Devil has caſt ſo great a miſt, and who think it better blindly to cry Scripture, then to hear thoſe who are the moſt faithful interpreters of it.

She with great reſpect and reverence, looks upon thoſe former ages, where truth was not diſguis'd, nor charity cool'd; but ſhe riſes not to ſuch an exceſs, as the Church of *Rome*: and whatſoever grace God has given to his ſervants, ſhe alwaies acknowledges, that they are but rivulets, which can never be equall'd with the Ocean from whence they proceed.

IX.

IX.

They therefore are miſtaken, who confound this holy Church with ſuch unreaſonable perſons, as refuſe to be inſtructed by the examples and writings of ſo many holy ſervants of God. She receives not tradition in any other ſenſe, then is according to Scripture. She will hold all that as holy, which can be alledged conformable to that excellent rule of *St. Vincent* of *Lerins*, *quod ſemper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus ſervatur*. She will alwaies receive with a profound reverence the unanimous conſent of the Saints: and never appeal from the decrees of the Church aſſembled in general & legitime Councils. For tho the Church has no power to ordain any new article of Faith, either to add or caſt out any part of it; neverthelefs ſhe has ſufficient Authority to declare her opinion in any point of Faith; and ſeeing that ſhe do's it, all Chriſtians are bound to ſubmit themſelves to her judgment, what ſeeming truth ſoever there appears on the contrary; and it is much more probable for one particular perſon to be deceiv'd, to whom God has promis'd no other aſſiſtance but that

that which is common to all Chriſtians, then the Catholic Church, to which Chriſt [a] *is preſent till the end of the World*, and has promis'd to ſend his Spirit, there where they [b] are gathered together in his name:

Chriſt in ſpeaking to inferiours ſaid not, [c] *he who hears you hears me;* they therefore have no right to be heard, nor conſequently to ſpeak. He ſaid to his Apoſtles, and Biſhops, whom he has order'd to govern the Church in their place: tis therefore their buſineſs to ſpeak, and right to be heard; and thoſe who teach without or againſt their order, do break the ranks, in which God has placed them.

X.

But to attempt the reducing the Catholic Church to one part of *Europe*; and to force the name of Roman upon thoſe, who ought not to receive it, and to exclude them from Salvation who are both Chriſtians and Catholics without being Romans, is the greateſt abſurdity in the world.

But to confine that part of *Europe* to

[a] *Meth.* 28. 15. [b] *Mat.* 18. 20. [c] *Luc.* 10. 16.

the

the Pope; to make him the center of unity which belongs alone to Chriſt, is the greateſt impiety and moſt inſufferable extravagancy that can be imagin'd.

But that any man ſhould call himſelf the High Prieſt, the Univerſal Biſhop of the Church, that is, take thoſe titles wch his[a] Predeceſſors look'd on as an execration, and which he hath not gotten but by an immenſurable ambition, is beyond all imagination.

But that the ſame perſon, under pretence of a *Paſce oves meas*, which he hath expounded as he pleaſed, contrary to the opinion of the Fathers and Councils, ſhould march in the head of all his Brethren, and raiſe Clergy men of the meaneſt order, ſuch as are Cardinals, above the holy order of Biſhops; ſhould excommunicate Kings and depoſe them, give their Kingdoms to a depredation; diſpence Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance which they have ſworn to their Prince, and colour all theſe attemts as done by the autority which Chriſt hath given him, the Church of *England* will never admit of ſuch Principles, as the

[a] *Can. null. diſt. 99. Can. Eccl. diſt. de. Greg. l. 4. Epiſt. 32.*

most forlorn sinners cannot look upon without horror.

XI.

If the Pope would do all for the truth, and nothing contrary to it; if he would limit himself to the word of Christ, and the practice which the Church hath prescrib'd him, and go no further then St. *Leo* or St. *Gregory*, she will communicate with him. She will rob him neither of the dignity of Bishop nor Patriarch. Christ gave him the one, and the Church granted him the other. She acknowledges, that the ancient See of *Rome* is one of the most considerable in the world; that hath bin formerly ennobled with as many Martyrs as Bishops; that he hath bin mightily respected in Councils; and that the Emperors have dignified him with great privileges. But when he pretends to draw thence an occasion of exalting himself above others; and that according to the remark of a famous Emperor, at the Council of [a] *Florence*, *He looks on the praises which the Saints have given him in their Epistles, as titles and privileges from*

[a] Μήπως τις τῶν ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τὸν Πάπαν, καὶ ἐκλαβῇ τοῦτο ἀντὶ προνομίων. *Conc. Florent. p.* 518. *tom.* 32.

Christ;

Christ; the Church of *England* oppoſes it with as much conſtancy as juſtice, and not being able to cure the wounds of that Biſhop, ſhe leaves him to the judgment of our great God.

XII.

The pride of the Pope has cauſ'd the ſeparation of the Greek Church, and made a breach between Eaſt and Weſt, which will never be made up. It has alſo bin the occaſion of the one part of the Weſt being divided from the other. And it is not ten years ſince, in the affair of the four French Biſhops, it had like to raiſe a Schiſm and a diviſion in the reſt.

XIII.

But ſuppoſing the ſubmiſſion of all the reſt to *Rome* ſhould be lawful, yet that is nothing to the Church of *England*, which was never any part of it. It plainly appears, ſhe receiv'd the Faith almoſt as ſoon as Chriſt brought it to the world: but altho the time be uncertain, yet none can think, that ſhe was ever inſtructed by the Church of *Rome*. [a] Her manner of obſerving Eaſter, as in the Eaſt, and her

[a] *Vener. Bedd. l. 2. c. 2.*

Ceremonies (very different from thoſe uſed in the Church of *Rome*) ſhew that ſhe receiv'd the Goſpel from thence, St. *Gregory* having ſent hither *Auſtin* the Monk, and that Holy Saint requiring the Clergy to ſubmit to the Popes autority, the Abbot of *Bangor*, in the name of all the reſt, anſwer'd in ſuch terms as ſhew'd the purity and ſimplicity of the former times, [a] *We ſubmit our ſelves*, ſaies he, *to the Church of God, to the Pope of* Rome, *and to every good Chriſtian; and love each of them with ſuch a degree of charity as is due to them, to aſſiſt them both in our works and Councils, to become ſons of God; we know no other reſpect due to him, whom you ſtile Father of Fathers.*

XIV.

It is therefore certain, for ſix hundred years at leaſt, that the Church of *England* hath in no manner bin ſubject to that of *Rome*; her Councils and promotions of Biſhops, and generally all that belongs to Religion, has bin tranſacted without the Church of *Rome* being at all concerned in them.

[a] *Spelm. pag.* 108.

It

It would be much againſt the honor of the Pope, if thoſe means ſhould be made known, by which he hath endeavor'd to eſtabliſh himſelf for the ſucceeding ages. The public Acts of this Kingdom, of a far greater autority then all their legends, are fully charg'd with his Oppreſſions. What pains did the Kings take to put a ſtop to them? with what conſtancy did the Clergy oppoſe it, till the time of *Henry* the Eighth? That hiſtory was writ with as much impartiality as truth, by the Learned Sir *Roger Twiſden*. It appears by all public Acts, that the Pope hath wonderfully endeavor'd to make uſe of all conjunctures of times, to get footing into this great Iſle. He hath bin enrich'd by the liberality of her Kings, by Factions which he ſow'd in the heart of the Kingdom, and by the Wars which he brought upon it from abroad.

XV.

Henry the Eighth, whom all the Popes have ſo cry'd out upon, went not further then his Predeceſſors, and the title of ſupreme Governor in theſe his Realms, well underſtood, is no leſs due to him then to any other Prince in the World. This King

King, or any of his Succeſſors, pretend to no more autority over the Church, then *Conſtantine*, *Juſtinian*, or *Charles* the Great. They have neither power to adminiſter the Sacraments, nor to Preach the word of God.

They meddle not at all with any thing which belongs to faith or manners, and leave to their Biſhops all the power in thoſe matters, which Chriſt himſelf has given them.

They make no Canons, tho they add Sanctions to them; and declare, the knowledge of Spiritual affairs is not a right of their Crowns.

They only take care of the outward adminiſtration of the Church, to ſee Canons executed, and hinder foreign autority, under pretence of piety, from diſturbing the quiet of their people. Upon this account, the Bull of no Pope is receiv'd in *France* without the Kings conſent; all privileged men are daily reſtor'd to the juriſdiction of the Ordinaries; and when any thing does endanger the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, or the Laws of the Land, the *Paſce oves meas* is of no force, and the Kings autority ſtops the attemts of the Holy Father.

In

In *Spain* the King has the disposal of all things belonging to the outward Government of the Church. The Inquisitors condemn in the Kings name: and when the Council of *Trent* was there receiv'd, 'twas by the command he gave his Subjects to do it; nor do the Kings of *England* claim any more.

XVI.

'Twas not the title of *Supreme Governor* which did most of all distast the Pope. He could easily bear with that in all Kings, for it is but what naturally belongs to them; he knew that every King has such autority over the Church: but he fear'd the consequences of it, which indeed are very terrible to a Pope.

Henry the Eighth by that did suppress the Bulls which came from *Rome*, and retain'd in his own Realms those vast sums, which before were yearly carried out of them. This was transacted in the sight of two great Kingdoms, inclin'd enough to do the like. The Pope therefore thought, that in prudence he ought to cry out on that Prince; but because a man cries in vain, when things are represented in their true and lively colours, he gave his defenders

fenders liberty of forming Chimera's, to the end they might work upon the people such an effect in this point as he desired.

XVII.

The Church of *England* need not recur to an extraordinary mission, nor to those arguments so far distant from reason, to prove her self a Church. She hath not confounded the order of things, and assum'd a Government lately sprung up. Since she hath receiv'd the Faith which was according to [a] *Nicephorus* in the first age, and to [b] St. *Beda* some small time after, we see the succession of Bishops hath continu'd without the least interruption or change.

XVIII.

The Usurpations of Popes, the commerce of Italians, and most of all the ignorance wherewith God for some time permitted the West to be blinded, made them fall into the errors of *Rome*. But when God looked upon the Church in his mercy, and had opened her eies, she labored to reform her self, but not in a tumultuous manner, and spilling of blood.

[a] *Nicep. l.* 2. *c.* 40. [b] *Bar. to.* 1. *an.* 35. *n.* 3.

She

She was not left to the conduct of the blind People; which will ſuffer nothing but what pleaſeth them beſt, and which is delighted only with extreams. The King calls a Council of the whole Kingdom, ſtored with wiſe and holy Biſhops, as appears both in their lives and works. This Council form'd the articles of a reformation: which being ſeconded by the law of their Prince, according to the cuſtome of all Monarchs, were by that great Kingdom receiv'd with a general reſpect.

XIX.

Theſe holy Prelats in the Reformation had nothing carried on either by heat or violence: an extraordinary and unuſual prudence appears in all their Canons: they buſy not themſelves in calling the Pope Antichriſt and *Rome* Babylon, but render them the ſame reſpect they had ever done. They judg themſelves without judging others, and are content to pray for other Societies, without pronouncing either their Salvation or condemnation.

XX.

As they do ſeparate themſelves only

from the errours of the Church of *Rome*, ſo they do pretiouſly preſerve what doth not bear that name: otherwiſe 'twould not have bin the work of a pious zeal but of a wicked madneſs. None can deny that there are many great and holy rites in the Church of *Rome*. They therefore by a judicious diſtinction have thrown out thoſe practiſes which were evil, and retain'd the good.

XXI.

Having therefore two buſineſſes in hand, to wit, the reformation of Doctrine and ordering of manners, they have made uſe of the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt means. They compar'd all to the Scriptures and cuſtomes of the firſt Ages. There is no point of their Faith which may not be proved by Scripture: nothing in their Diſcipline which is not conformed to the ceremonies of the firſt 500 years.

XXII.

The Church of *England* therefore hath the comfort of having her Doctrine founded on the Scriptures, ſo believed by the holy Saints as ſhe beleiv'd it: her Canons conformable to the antient Ca-

nons,

nons, her Liturgy like the firſt Liturgies.

When ſhe goes about to interpret the ſcriptures, ſhe exacts not of her Children a blind obedience, as doth the Church of *Rome*. She thinks not to make any volume Canonical, which was never really ſo; but ſhe follows the tracts of the Saints, and of the Councils: and hath learnt from the primitive Church, which books in the Holy Bible are the grounds of our Faith, and which only the object of our Piety.

XXIII.

We may ſay the ſame thing of all thoſe points, which raiſe the difference betwixt us and the Church of *Rome*. The moſt conſiderable one is that of the Euchariſt. She treats that incomprehenſible myſtery with the reſpect due to it. She neither preſumes nor pretends to comprehend more of it then Chriſt hath bin pleaſed to reveal to them, and the antient Church underſtood.

It is manifeſt firſt, that Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament of his body and blood.

Secondly, that he is really preſent in it. Thirdly, that he abundantly communicates

nicates his grace and his holy Spirit, to thoſe who before they receive it ſeriouſly try themſelves, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, and who not only forſake Sin, but the very appetite of ſinning, and labour to order their life by his example.

But the manner of his being preſent is uncertain. Chriſt ſaies nothing of it: it appears not that the primitive Church hath known how. That of *England* receives with thankſgiving what he hath bin pleaſed to reveal to her, and adores with a ſubmiſſive ſilence what he hath not bin pleaſed to let her know.

We underſtand nothing of the Lord's Supper but by the Scriptures and the practice of the primitive times: and when we limit our ſelves to that, without going any further, the manner of expounding it is not difficult. The Infinite love of God towards us in that Sacrament deſtroies not the order which his wiſdom hath put in things. We leave to Faith all the latitude of it, without contradicting the principles of reaſon. But when men pretend to make Evangeliſts ſpeak as Scholaſtics, or Scholaſtics as Evangeliſts, and look for Tranſubſtantiation, con-

concomitancy, and exiſtence of the accidents without their ſubject, &c. all ſeems obſcurity and darkneſs. We ſacrifice not our reaſon to faith, but we throw aſide both of them in ſaying that God explains himſelf after a manner contrary to thoſe principles which he hath eſtabliſhed.

The Church of *England* is therefore in a right of ſuppoſing as receiv'd what ſhe beleives, and the Church of *Rome* is obliged to prove what ſhe advances. The former ſuppoſes the miracle which Chriſt hath wrought, adding nothing new or impoſſible; the other propoſeth a thouſand things to our beleif of which Chriſt hath ſaid nothing; and which are in themſelves greater miracles then that about which the two parties differ, beſides that they draw idolatrous practices.

XXIV.

The Church of *Eng.* doth not only think her ſelf bound to beleive what Chriſt ſaies of the ſacrament, but ſhe adminiſters it, as he hath given it us. She orders the Sacrament under both kinds, according to the command of Chriſt and to the practice of the Catholic Church: and the whole World know the unchriſtian grounds

grounds upon which an *Italian* Biſhop in the Council of *Trent* thought it was not to be granted, for fear of making an argument againſt the pretended Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*.

XXV.

It is unreaſonable that ſhe do's not permit ſervice to be read in the vulgar tongue, and the Bible to be tranſlated. She knows nothing was ever grounded upon a leſs foundation then that; and without looking on the orders of St. *Paul*, which are ſo exact thereupon, is there any thing in the World ſo contrary to reaſon as to pray to God in an unknown Tongue, which expoſeth the Praiers to the ſcorn and irreverence of thoſe that offer them ?

The Eaſtern Church did alwaies pray in Greek, or in languages uſed by her divers Nations. Whilſt the Latin was the language of the Weſt, it was fitting that the ſervice ſhould be read in it: but by the diſtraction of the Empire, the incurſions of Barbarians, and the various revolutions we find in hiſtory, that language having loſt its life, and given place to the various Idiomes of all Nations, it was fit-

[a] 2 *Cor.* 14.

ting

ting men ſhould pray in ſuch languages as may be underſtood: but it being more for the intereſt of the Pope to keep people ignorant, he hath oppoſed ſo neceſſary a practice. St. *Jerome* tranſlated the Bible into Dalmatian, the language of his own Country: there are alſo to be found manuſcripts of the Bible in moſt languages of the World. The more univerſal and dangerous hereſies were, the more the holy Saints exhorted the People to look in the Scriptures for thoſe remedies which God hath granted againſt them.

XXVI.

The Church of *England* hath therefore turn'd the Liturgy into her Mother tongue. The Prieſts and the Congregation there preſent, ſend the ſame Praiers to Heaven: and to take away all marks of Enthuſiaſm or novelty, ſhe hath compoſed the admirable Book of common Praier.

It is nothing but a collection of the moſt pathetical and inſtructive places of Scripture. That which ſhe hath not from thence are the very words of the Fathers, or antient collects which by tradition were receiv'd from the primitive Church.

All

All is ſound, all is holy: *we addreſs our ſelves to God, in God's own language, and we ſpeak to him, as he hath ſpoke to us.* 'Tis a happy obligation for a Chriſtian to pray after ſuch a manner wherein a vain imagination bears no part; his mind is enlivened; his heart ſoftned: by that he can preach to himſelf, and underſtand the moſt important truths of Salvation.

This is not contrary to the exerciſe of the inward praier, which St. [a] *Auſtin* calls *the voice of the heart*, by which we beg and are ſupplicants to God for his mercy: and the Church of *England* is ſo far from forbidding Chriſtians to prepare themſelves for the life to come, by a ſerious conſideration of the miſeries and inconſtancy of the preſent, and to learn how to love Chriſt, that by her they are commanded to do all this: and the Biſhops ſay to each of them in giving them the Goſpel as the Angel did to the [b] Prophet, *comede volumen iſtud*, Eat this Book and convert it into your own ſubſtance.

XXVII.

This makes it appear with how much leſs ſincerity our adverſaries, who have

[a] *Aug. Ep.* 191. [b] *Ezech.* 3. 1.

but

but a blind zeal, think to offer a great ſacrifice to God in calumniating their Brethren, and accuſing all the Proteſtants of renouncing all the exerciſes of Chriſtian Piety, and of retaining nothing but a meer morality, which is to be met with in any honeſt Heathen.

And indeed, if going in Proceſſion, carrying Images about one, counting Beads, and a hundred ſuch like nothings are counted Piety, ſhe acknowledges none of them. Bnt if the renouncing of our ſelves, the mortifying our ſenſes, the humility of our hearts, the love of our neighbor, forgiving our enemies, the meditation of the Goſpel, be ſtiled holineſs, ſhe teacheth and practiſeth them faithfully.

XXVIII.

The holy Church of *England* proceeds farther; and the Church of *Rome* hath no really holy practices which ſhe doth not follow. Confeſſion ſo ancient in the Church, is in uſe here alſo; but the liberty thereof is left to movements, which God himſelf inſpires into the hearts of ſinners. The Church had ſo done for twelve Ages, and until the pre-

tended general *Lateran* Council, there was no Statute made about it. She desires it should be wrought by the Holy Ghost, that the Spirit of God should throw a sinner at the feet of the Priest, and not the fear of Excommunication.

XXIX.

She doth, as they, believe the usefulness and necessity of fasting. All Scriptures and Traditions are full of the praises which God and his holy Saints have attributed to it. *Lent*, and the abstaining from certain meats on certain daies, are practices so ancient in the Church, that none can blame them without an insupportable ignorance and temerity.

She observes all these things with a great deal of edification. Her Bishops, and many of her Clergy-men, fast after the manner of the Primitive Christians, that is, eat but once, and that at night. Abstinence from flesh is alwaies injoined with their Fasts. They abhor the shameful subtilties of the Casuists of the Church of *Rome*, who retain nothing of it save the name, but in effect destroy it. Their fasting and abstinence have nothing superstitious. He that eateth not, is not scan-

candaliz'd by him that eateth, *Rom.* 14. 1. The ſtrong do patiently bear with the weak, and pray God that he ſtrengthen them.

XXX.

Nor doth the Church of *England* condemn Monaſtical life. She praiſeth them that retire into ſolitude, therein to bewail their crimes, who forſake all to find all in Jeſus Chriſt. It cannot be denied, but whatever irregularities the greater part of the Church of *Rome* be in, there are amongſt them a very great number of good people, whom God will recompence rather according to their heart then actions. Had they, when *Henry* the Eighth ſuppreſſed them in *England*, walked in the duties of their Calling, they had bin ſtill in being.

The Popes anger was not becauſe they had bin ſuppreſs'd, for Popes themſelves ſhew by their examples, that theſe ſort of ſuppreſſions are ſomtimes neceſſary: but 'twas becauſe it was done without his autority, which then becomes a nice point in Law, pernicious to all ſtates, and contrary to the reſpect due to Kings. This Prince found them in ignorance and cor-

ruption. They were a burden to the State, a ſcandal to the Church, a ſubject of grief to all good people. Their zeal for aſſerting the temporal autority of the Pope was inconceivable, and they treated their Biſhops with extreme ſcorn. When ſo many evils gathered together are incurable, who doubts but that the root thereof ſhould be pull'd up, and the hazard be run of loſing a bleſſing, which cannot be preſerved but by greater evils?

XXXI.

Good Monks are certainly of great example. The conferences of the Prieſt of *Marſeilles*, ſhew that the Eaſt was filled with the fame of their virtue. In the Weſt, the Order of St. *Bennet* had, during many ages, furniſh'd all the Sees in the Church, and bred up more Saints and Biſhops then all the other Orders together had of Religious perſons. But thoſe were neither inſolent Monks, who [a] *from the bottom of their Cells would condemn all the World beſides*; nor vagabonds, who made a trade of their poverty; nor people who having renounced the World, had yet more intrigues and reſtleſs deſires

[a] *Hieron.*

then

then thoſe who had not. They that got their livelihood by the ſweat of their brows, were no leſs ſeparated from Eccleſiaſtical emploiments then ſecular, and lived in a continual humility and penance.

XXXII.

The Orders in the Church of *Rome*, which continue ſtill in the ſame ſtate, are worthy of Veneration. It is a moſt falſe argument for looking upon them as people of no uſe to the Church. They ſerve her in their way: and truly it is a very great ſervice they do her of praying and groaning continually for her.

We muſt not judg the uſefulneſs of men by their actions, but by the ſtation God hath placed them in. A perſon that does but little in his calling, is often more uſeful to the Church then another that does much out of his calling; the will of God, and not that which appears to men, being the rule of the utility or inutility of thoſe that ſerve him.

XXXIII.

It is clear, following this principle, that though there are yet many good men in the

the present corruption of Friers Orders, nevertheless the Church of *England* hath done well in not suffering any.

She rejects them not, because they are Friers or Monks, but because the greater part of them is not in that condition they ought to be in. It is good to shew clearly, and to make the devout of the Church of *Rome* see that they are injurious in reproching that of *England*, for having banished Friers.

XXXIV.

Is there in the World any more effeminate and idle life, then that of the [a] *Clervaux* and the *Cisterciens*? Is not the ignorance, idleness, and sloth of these Friers, beyond all imagination? Does there appear the least trace of that laborious and penitent life of their holy Founder? Will not a man that hath read St. *Bernard*'s Epistles or Sermons, when he sees these Monasteries, think himself in another World, finding people that call themselves his sons, who have nothing either of his spirit or manners?

For the Mendicants, we need but hear the Bishops to be acquainted with their

[a] *Claravallis.*

nature.

nature. They are as great a charge to the Church as to the State. The Country is ſcarce large enough for their ramblings, and the City for their viſits. The *factum* of my Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Sens*, one of the greateſt Prelates of the Church of *Rome*, is a proof of what they can do. We ſpare the Reader the recital of their ſcandalous manners. But if theſe Monks have ſo little care of their reputation, as to ſay, that this is the practice but of one particular Houſe, we can prove to them by a thouſand like examples free from all exception, that it is not in the City of *Provins* only, but in all other they live accordingly.

It remains, that we ſpeak of the Jeſuits whom all have ſpoken againſt, ever ſince the World knew them. If the acts of the Clergy of *France*, the Writings of *Sorbon*, the Decrees of the Parliament of *Paris* may be credited, Chriſtianity hath never had greater enemies. Never did people that profeſs poverty and obedience, ſo earneſtly affect glory and riches. The better ſort of the Roman Communion in *England* it ſelf, cannot endure them. And all the World knows a perſon of eminent Quality, moſt zealous

for

for the Church of *Rome*, who ardently deſires its re-eſtabliſhment, but on condition that the Jeſuits be for ever excluded the Kingdom.

XXXV.

Whence therefore comes it that the Church of *Rome*, which cannot be ignorant of ſo palpable diſorders, preſerves the Friers with ſo much care? 'Tis a miſtery which muſt be laid open.

There are two ſorts of perſons intereſs'd in their conſervation; the Pope, and men that are worldly given. The latter, who would be Chriſtians without ſubmitting to the duties of the Goſpel, are very glad to find ſo eaſie and indulgent guides, who give them *pillows to lean on*, Ezech. 13. 18. as ſpeaks the Prophet, that is, to ſin with leſs diſturbance. Now to glory in a great number of followers, 'tis enough to entice and allure thoſe, whom a half piety and ſhadow'd devotion keeps ſtill in their ſins. The Pope on the other ſide ſupports them, not only by acknowledgment, as people to whom he owes a great part of his grandeur, but with deſign of making uſe himſelf of them upon occaſion.

Before

Before the Court of *Rome* had invented Privileges and Exemtions, the Monks that lived in ſubmiſſion to their Biſhops, and in an happy ignorance of the diſputes of the Schools, were but of ſmall uſe to it; they ſought after ſanctity more then ſcience. But when the Pope began to encroach upon the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, he began by ſubſtracting from their autority Monaſteries, which being weary of the vigilance of their Prelates, were wrapt with joy of having none that ſhould examine their actions.

That they might not ſeem unworthy of Popes new favor, they began to make head againſt their Biſhops, to ſtudy Decretals, aſpire to Scholarſhip, and change their ignorance into a demi-ſcience, which hath brought ſo many evils upon the Church.

And indeed, ſince they have bin extremely faithful to the Pope. Of nine Divines which he ſent to the Council of *Trent*, ſeven were Monks. The Holy Father requires not them to defend his rights by good arguments, by reading the Fathers, or ſtudying learned Languages, but only to clamor and cry out. They are

not engaged to prove, that thoſe who deny the ſupremacy and infallibility of the Pope, are Heretics, but to *ſpread abroad* that they are Heretics. In the affairs of the five Propoſitions, and the magnificent Formulary of *Alexander* the Seventh, the *Jeſuits* ne're put themſelves to the trouble, of ſhewing that the five Propoſitions were in *Janſenius*, but only clamor'd that they were there. They thought not themſelves obliged to demonſtrate, the Pope had power to exact the ſignature of the Formulary, but only bark'd all about, that thoſe that ſubſcribed not to it were worſe then Arians.

XXXVI.

There are in *France* fifty thouſand Monks at leaſt; the greater part are Preachers and Confeſſors, that is, people that bear relation to all places of the Kingdom. Doth any write againſt Religion or manners, maintain the moſt ſcandalous Principles in the World, and the moſt oppoſite to thoſe of the Goſpel, there is not one that appears to defend either. But if any ſpeak againſt the uſurpation of the Pope, *then the Theaters, ſtreets,*

ſtreets, public places, private houſes, and palaces of the Grandees, are full of Monks, that cry with open mouth *that Hereſy hath infected the whole World.* Had *Charles* the Fifth, who aſpired to the univerſal Monarchy, uſed this means, he had infallibly ſucceeded. The beſt policy in the World, is to have in all Kingdoms thirty thouſand Agents who have influence on an infinite number of Perſons, and are maintain'd at ſo ſmall a rate by him that emploies them.

XXXVII.

The Church of *England* is therefore in the right to reject ſuch Friers as they are now. King *Henry* the Eighth knew that with them, it was impoſſible a King could be maſter of his own Eſtate, and a Biſhop rule his Church. And theſe two things being equally neceſſary to the repoſe and welfare of a Nation, this action of his is not to be condemn'd.

XXXVIII.

In baniſhing Friers, the Holy Church

of *England* hath baniſhed at the ſame time all thoſe novelties wherewith they abuſed the credulity of People, indulgencies, reliques, fraternities, and all that which is commonly taken for a true piety. She hath ſubſtituted in their place, praier, reading of the Goſpel, preaching, and generally all that may conduce to the converting the heart. Her deſign in it is not to draw after her a multitude of Women *loaden with ſins, who alwaies learn and are never inſtructed*, but to eſtabliſh in her Sons ſuch things as are ſolid and durable. In primitive times all theſe waies were unknown; true piety decreaſing, the Friers thought it ſufficient to ſubſtitute in its ſtead an appearance of it. The holy Church of *England* beleived ſhe ought to deal quite otherwiſe for the welfare of Chriſtians, and that ſhe was obliged to endeavour to render them like thoſe of the golden age, as much as that of Iron wherein we live would permit.

XXXIX.

Of all practices of antiquity there is none ſo venerable as the manner of ſanctifying

ctifying the Lords day. The holy Church of *England* celebrates it with an admirable piety. Saint *Auguſtine* believed that it was leſs criminal to till the ground, then to dance on this day. Both the one and the other is equally forbidden in *England*. Plaies, Balls, pleaſures, journies, are things not ſo much as to be mentioned.

X L.

The Church of *England* limits not its ſelf at the ſanctifying of the Lords day. She hath divers other daies to excite the piety of her Sons; and thoſe are the feſtivals inſtituted in honour of the moſt glorious mother of God and the Saints. As this cuſtome is very antient in the Church, and a man cannot open the writings of the Fathers without finding marks of it, ſhe thought it fit to preſerve religiouſly ſuch obſervances.

By this the Church makes to appear the union of her body in what ſtate ſoever her members be. By this ſhe gives glory to the grace of Chriſt, who hath workt in them all theſe things. By this ſhe brings Chri-

Chriſtians to follow the examples ſhe propoſeth them, and to beleive that nothing is impoſſible to Chriſtians, [a] *who in the fleſh walk not after the fleſh.*

She takes care then that the People read their lives and the preachers make their Elogies, and that both the one and the other endeavour to imitate them.

By this alſo may be ſeen her moderation. She runs not into the exceſs of thoſe furious and unreaſonable men, that will not hear the very naming of a *Saint*; nor yet degenerates to the invoking of them as in the Church of *Rome*, but equally avoids impiety as ſuperſtition.

XLI.

The like moderation appears in reſpect of Images. She judgeth it a crime to adore them, to bend the knee before them, and ſticks not to call this *Idolatry*. But ſhe beleives not Idolaters thoſe that only retaint hem.

XLII.

She hath with no leſs wiſdom retain'd

[a] *Rom.* 3. 1.

Eccleſi-

Eccleſiaſtical habits, and ceremonies neceſſary to Divine worſhip. Her Canons are extream ſevere for the firſt of theſe. She knows a Prieſt hath nothing to do with the World; and that he muſt underſtand, he is even outwardly ſeparated from it.

For the ſecond, ſhe hath retrenched all the profane pomp of the Church of *Rome*, but hath avoided the frightful nakedneſs which appears on the other ſide. Her ceremonies have neither the appearance of Grandeur, nor affected baſeneſs. In the Cathedrals & Collegiate Churches may be ſeen whatever can excite the Piety of People to praiſe God. But nothing which occaſions to ſay, that the luxury and vaniety of the World is brought into the ſanctuary.

XLIII.

There remains but one thing, at which the Church of *Rome* is offended altogether as unjuſtly as in many others, that is, *the marriage of Prieſts.*

Sure *Celibacy* is a moſt holy, exemplary, and upon many occaſions a neceſſary thing

thing. Twere to be wish'd that those who are call'd to the ministry of Angels, had their purity; and that it might be said of them *neq; nubunt neq; nubuntur*: but being made of flesh as well as spirit, of flesh subject to the infirmities of other men, the remedy God has ordain'd, and so highly recommended in the Scripture, must not be denied them.

The Church of *Rome* hath never lookt upon *Celibacy* but as an Ecclesiastical law. This opinion is maintain'd & taught publickly every day in *Sorbon*. The obligation thereunto is imposed as a point of Discipline that hath no relation to Faith.

Now the Church is absolutely mistress of whatever is of Ecclesiastical right. She may introduce, continue, change, what, and as she judgeth expedient.

The holy Church of *England* hath thought fit to alter this point in her Discipline. She hath weighed all the circumstances, seen all the inconveniences, considered the good and evil that may accrue thereby. It hath not appear'd that she ought to lay a yoke on the necks of such as have not grace enough to bear it. And she hath promis'd her self that those

those to whom hath bin granted a sufficient measure, would endeavor to increase and multiply it.

Nor hath she bin deceiv'd in so judicious a conduct: she hath the glory to see the greater part of her Bishops and Clergy like to the great Apostle, and at the same time the consolation to know, that the others live in their houses in such sort, as to be the examples of all Christian Families.

I cannot see what answer a moderate person can give to this reasoning. For to return to the Pope, and to say that this cannot be done without his consent, because *he is master of the whole discipline*, is a miserable reason; and no Church of the Roman Communion, but that of *Italy*, will ever assent unto it.

XLIV.

The Clergy of *England* is generally the most Learned in the World: and if the common people retain somthing of the natural dulness of the vulgar, it hath nothing of the ignorance. This must be ascrib'd to the care and capacity of their

Teachers, and above all to the famous Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. These are two Seminaries of Virtue and Science. There may be found whatever can be desired, for greatness of Revenues, magnificence of Buildings, and infinite number of Books, collected with incredible expences and care, during several Ages. Clergy-men are there for many years before they are entrusted with the care of souls. They pass from the studies of humane Arts and Sciences to that of Divinity, and the Oriental Languages. Their Professors are endow'd with all the abilities that can be expected from men, who besides vast natural parts, have born the burden and heat of the day.

The Bishops are not such as those whom Monsieur *D'Espences* calls *Barbatulos Juvenes*, who in so sacred and high dignity as Episcopacy, are not yet free from the passions of the World. Their zeal for the salvation of souls, their punctual visiting their Dioceses, their charity to the poor, their hospitality, their fidelity to the King, and their love for their Country, are qualities they are so much

much owners of, as their greateſt enemies cannot but admire them.

We do not hereby pretend, that all thoſe whom they govern are ſaints. It is to be acknowledg'd with a ſenſible grief, that in the Church of *England* are too too many *who treſure up unto themſelves wrath againſt the day of wrath*, and live after ſuch a manner as is little conformable to that which they have promiſed in their Baptiſm.

But we muſt not conceive from thence an ill opinion of a Church, which hath nothing in her but what is moſt holy. If we ſhould judg of the Romiſh Church by thoſe diſorders which have crept into the very Sanctuary, what concluſion might there be drawn? This cannot be done without oppoſition to the Judgment of God, *who hath left the wicked in the midſt of the good*, and hath permitted the number of the latter to be leſs then that of the former, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf. It is a ſecret of his Juſtice and Mercy, which ſhall not be manifeſted till the laſt day.

[a] *The droſs is in the ſame fornace with the gold; that is conſumed, and this purified and embelliſh'd by the fire. There is much more droſs then gold, but it ſuffleth that the work-man know them.*

In a word, there is not one that conſiders the Church of *England* without prejudice, but does at the ſame time admire the ſanctity, moderation and wiſdom of her conduct. A Chriſtian will find there, that the veneration which is given the Scripture, excludes not the eſteem which is due to the Church, nor the eſteem paid to the Church any way extenuate the ſoveraign obedience due to the Scriptures. He will ſee that ſhe practiceth nothing but what the Primitive Times have done, and that ſhe leaves nothing unpractiſed but what thoſe happy ones ne'r knew. He will compaſſionate a vaſt number of people ſo miſerably abuſed in the Church of *Rome*: and when he ſhall have had a clearer inſpection into this of ours, calumniated from without by the Jeſuiſts, from within by ſuch of her Children as have

[a] *Aug. ſer. de dedicat. Eccl.*

not

not perfectly ſubmitted themſelves to her orders, he will ſay with thoſe that fell from the party of *Donatus*, *Neſciebamus hic eſſe veritatem, nec eam diſcere volebamus. Nos falſis rumoribus terrebamur intrare; quos falſos eſſe neſciremus, niſi intraremus. Gratias Deo qui expertos docuit, quam vana & falſa de Eccleſia ſua mendax fama jactaverit.*

FINIS.

Dr. Dunn's Speech, 1
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 2
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 3
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 4
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 5
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 6
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 7
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 8
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 9
Mr. Speaker's Speech, 10
Mr. Speaker's Speech,

F 158919

D2418A Du Chastelet de
Reflexions on the Cou
ed.] Printed at the T
had there. And in Lo
Millers, 1677. 8°.

Folger Shakespeare Library

Microfilme
by
UMI, 300 N. Zeeb R
in cooperat
The Folger Shake
201 East Capitol St., S.E.,

Further Reproduction Prohibited Wi
fro
The Folger Shake

t de Luzancy, Hippolite.
Council of Trent. [Anr.
e Theater in Oxford, to be
London at Mr. Simon

rary Shelfmark: 158919

ilmed 1997
by
o Rd., Ann Arbor, MI
eration with
nakespeare Library
E., Washington, D.C. 20003

Without Express Written Permission
from
nakespeare Library